

RISH RACE Convencion



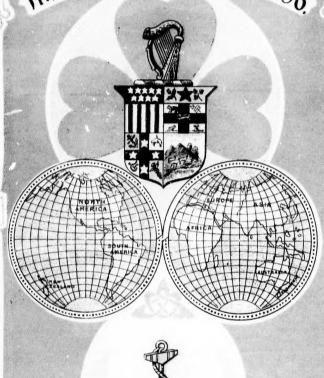
Dublin.

Sepsember, 1896.



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HISTORY AND ALBUM

OF THE

IRISH RACE CONVENTION.





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HISTORY AND ALBUM

OF THE

IRISH RACE CONVENTION

WHICH MET IN DUBLIN THE FIRST THREE DAYS OF SEPTEMBER, 1896,

THE

MOST REV. DR. O'DONNELL, BISHOP OF RAPHOE, IN THE CHAIR:

WITH

MEMOIRS, LIST OF DELEGATES, PROCEEDINGS THAT LED UP TO THE CONVENTION, AND THE DECLARATION OF DELEGATES FROM ABROAD ON CONCLUSION OF SAME:

ALSO,

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN; AND HON. EDWARD BLAKE'S SPEECH ON THE OVER-TAXATION OF IRELAND.

3llustrated.

By Permission from the Freeman's Journal, Selected and Arranged.

Dublin:

SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER,
MIDDLE ABBEY STREET.



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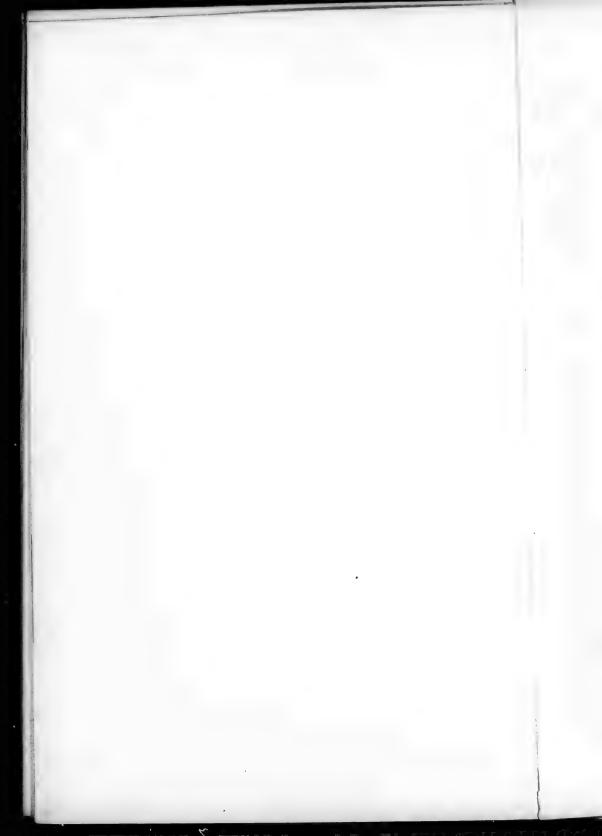




IRISH RACE CONVENTION, LEINSTER HA



LEINSTER HALL, DUBLIN, September, 1896.



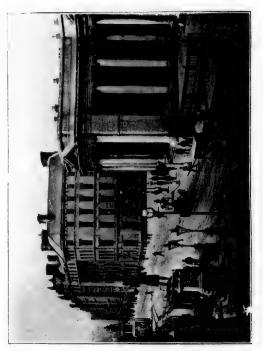
A Mation Once Again!

WHEN boyhood's fire was in my blood,
I read of ancient freemen,
For Greece and Rome who bravely stood,
Three hundred men and three men.
And then I prayed I yet might see
Our fetters rent in twain,
And Ireland, long a province, be
A nation once again.

And, from that time, through wildest woe,
That hope has shone a far light;
Nor could love's brightened summer glow
Outshine that solemn starlight:
It seemed to watch above my head
In forum, field, and fane;
Its angel voice sang round my bed,
. "A nation once again."

It whispered, too, that "freedom's ark
And service high and holy,
Would be profaned by feelings dark,
And passions vain or lowly:
For freedom comes from God's right hand,
And needs a godly train;
And righteous men must make our land
A nation once again."

So, as I grew from boy to man,
I bent me to that bidding—
My spirit of each selfish plan
And cruel passion ridding;
For, thus I hoped some day to aid—
Oh! can such hope be vain?
When my dear country shall be made
A nation once again.



HENRY GRATTAN STATUE, COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

Introduction.

My connection with the Irish Race Convention is purely literary Personally, I believe in the political ability and sincerity of Mr. John Dillon, but am willing to respect the opinions of others who may choose to take a different view. But, apart from politics, the Convention was a great historic event, which some one should necessarily chronicle. The task fell to Mr. Alfred Webb, who was in every way well adapted for it; but, as he states, the work was prepared hurriedly, in order to meet a pressing requirement, and thus can hardly be regarded as a worthy souvenir of so memorable an occasion. I was honoured with the task of endeavouring, at least, to improve it. So many difficulties, however, arose, which had not at first been anticipated, that the work falls far short of what I had hoped to A severe illness rendered me unfitted for literary work for several months, and hence it was impossible for me to have the book issued on the anniversary of the Convention, as I had expected and promised. Moreover, an appointment in Rome, and the duties consequent, engaged the time and attention which should have been given to the work. I had calculated, too, on assistance which, when needed, was not forthcoming, and from this cause much of the delay has arisen.

The Memoirs of the various speakers which are submitted in the book were secured usually through some friend of the subject, or through some public record. Possibly there are some inaccuracies; nor would this be strange, considering their number, and owing to the fact that most of those of whom there is mention are not public men, and hence no tangible records could be secured except through their friends, who often had some reluctance in interfering, lest they might not be equal to the task, and perhaps at best were not perfectly accurate. Some of the sketches were supplied, and appear very much in the form in which they came to hand. Most of them have been



corrected, sometimes enlarged, and sometimes abridged; whereas some have been written entirely by myself. I claim that they are generally accurate, and whatever has been said for or against, in the individual cases is but an expression of

the estimate in which they are commonly held.

It has hardly been deemed necessary to make any changes in the speeches. This department has already been attended to by Mr. Webb, and he has kindly permitted me to avail myself of his labours. The speech of the Hon. Edward Blake, delivered in the House of Commons 29th March, 1897, on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, has been added, as having a great interest for Irishmen, not to speak of the ability which it displays. It may be mentioned that a Royal Commission was appointed in May, 1894, to investigate the financial relations between the two countries, inasmuch as complaints have been made that the financial arrangements were not quite satisfactory. The result of the investigation proved that, all things considered, Ireland was overtaxed to the extent of some two and a-half millions. Mr. Blake was selected to bring the matter before the House, and his speech on the occasion, which is herewith given, speaks abundantly for itself. The illustrations, it is hoped, will render the work very much more interesting.

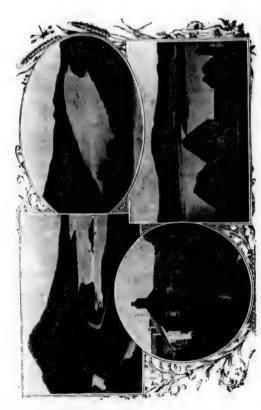
There is no rule observed as to the extent of the Memoirs, and their length does not necessarily signify their importance. Some of them have been supplied by too-admiring friends, and the great difficulty consisted in reducing them to practical bounds; or, perhaps, it might be safer to say, by those who had little experience in such work, and misunderstood what was in reality required. But in some cases information was refused other than what was already supplied; and some refused to have anything added, and, as far as they could, to have anything climinated. Generally speaking, great interest was centred in the work, and those who could consistently render assistance were well disposed to do so. The order corresponds mostly with that in which the names occur in the proceedings.

I have to express my indebtedness to Mr. Dillon and the other members of the Irish Party, who entrusted to me a work of such importance, and one so intimately associated with the

Irish cause. I must say, however, I have not undertaken the work because of any concession already obtained, or any likely to be obtained. Nor am I known personally to more than two members of the Irish Party, and from that Party I have secured no benefits, and hope for none. I have also to express my deep sense of gratitude to Mr. Blake, who permitted me to insert in the work his speech on the Financial Relations, which must lend to it considerable interest and importance. To Mr. Webb I am also indebted for his great kindness in handing over to me practically the fruits of his labour, having so carefully arranged the proceedings of the Convention from the reports of the Freeman's Journal, and edited the work with such ability. He has also seen through the press the speech of Mr. Blake, which I have been permitted to use, and for his kindness I feel exceedingly grateful. Having prefaced so much, I venture to offer to the public this work, in the hope that it will meet a cordial reception, and be in some respects a suitable memento and record of what must remain a memorable event in Irish history.

DANIEL F. McCREA.





From photos by] SUGAR-LOAF MOUNTAIN.

CO. KERRY.

DERRYNANE HOUSE.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin, LAKE.

LONG LAKE. DERRYNANE ABBEY.

Contents.

A NATION ONCE	AGAIN!	***						PAG
INTRODUCTION	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	
CONVENTION SUG				en Tonon	***	***	***	V
ACCEPTANCE OF S	UGGERTIO	N DV In	ishor o	F TORON.		***	***	
CONSTITUTION OF					***	0.0.5	***	4
ALL IRISH NATIO				***	***	***	***	
RESOLUTIONS AND	Monton	EMBERS .		***	***	***	144	7
				**	0.01	0.00	***	7
LETTER FROM UN LEINSTER HALL			CANAD	IAN DELI	EGATES	* 0.0	***	8
	***	111	***	***	***	***	***	Ġ
BIOGRAPHICAL SK FIRST DAY'S PROC	ETCHES O	F THE SI	PEAKFRS	***	***	***	***	8 1
			***	***	***	***		153
SECOND DAY'S PR			***	***	***	***	***	201
THIRD DAY'S PRO			***		***	***	***	261
RESOLUTIONS OF		ENTION	***	***	***	***	***	318
DROPPED RESOLUT		***	***	***	***	***	***	322
LIST OF DELEGAT								
IRISH RACE A			***	***	***	***		327
MEMBERS OF	Parliame	NT	***	***	***	***	***	328
CLERGY	***	400	***	***	***	***	***	328
COUNTY AND		***	***	***	***	***		332
GREAT BRITA		***	***	***	***	***	***	332
CENTRAL BOD	y, Irish	Nationa	L FEDE	RATION	***	***		335
IRELAND	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	336
STEWARDS	***	***	***	***	***	***		352
IRISH NATIONAL I	EAGUE OF	F GREAT	BRITAL	N, ANNU	L CONV	ENTION	***	354
Justin M'Carthy,	M.P., o	N THE C	ONVENT	ION	***			373
IMPRESSIONS OF TH	E CONVE	NTION, B	Y A "S	PECTATO	,"	***	***	376
Address of Dele	GATES FR	OM ABRO	AD TO	THE IRIS	н Реорг	E AT H	OMP	3/0
AND ABROAD	***	***		***				378
VERY REV. DR. R	YAN, OF					***		381
Personal Remini	SCENCES	OF THE	IRISH	RACE CO	NVENTIO	N DV	THE	301
REV. D. F. M			*******		***			.0.
Hon. Edward BL.						PLAND		385
22	, .,	, O. III.	E OVER	- I AAAI IO	M OF IK	BLAND	***	397

Index to Memoirs and Speeches.

	-					
					1	PAGE
MOST REV. JOHN WALSH, D.D., A	rchbishop	of Toront	0	***	***	11
CHAIRMAN, MOST REV. DR. O'DOS	INELL, I	dishop of I	taphoe-	-		
Memoir	***	***	***	***	***	14
Opening Address		***	***	***	***	156
Closing Address	***	***	***	***	***	315
[Also on procedure, pp. 153, 1	154, 161,	186, 190,	201, 2	06, 210, 2	20,	
227, 231, 232, 243, 261, 262	, 268,	271, 272,	277, 2	78, 280, 2	185,	
290, 297, 298, 310, 311.]						
AMBROSE, DR., M.P	***	***	***	***	32,	153
BLAKE, HON, EDWARD, M.P.	***	***	***	20, 232	, 290,	317
BROMBY, HON. CHARLES H., Tasm	ania	***	***	***		177
CLANCY, REV. M. A., Newfoundlan	d	***		***	71,	188
CLANCY, REV. J., Tipperary	***	***	***	***	120,	280
CORNWALL, MR. Moses, Kimberley		***	***	***	51,	176
Costigan, Hon. John, Ottawa			•••	***	116,	273
DAVITT, MR. MICHABL, M.P.	***	***	***	***	26,	293
DEVLIN, MR. J. B., Wilkesbarre, P	ennsylva	nia		***	140	306
DEVLIN, MR. JOSEPH, Belfast	***	***	***	***	113	272
DILLON, MR. JOHN, M.P		***	***	17, 245	, 311	313
DORAN, Mr. DAVID, Kenmare	***	***	•••	***	***	302
DUFFY, MR. THOMAS, P.L.G., Lon	gford	***	***	***	***	302
DUNLEAVY, MR. PATRICK, Philadel	phia	***	***	***	62	182
FERGUSON, MR. JOHN, Glasgow	***	•••	***	***	73	191
FITZGERALD, MR., Bermondsey	***	***	***	***	•••	277
FLANNERY, VERY REV. DR., St. T	homas',	Canada		***	138	305
FLYNN, REV. P. F., P.P., Waterfor	d	444	***	76, 202	, 206	230
FOLEY, REV. DR., Nova Scotia	***	***	***	***	65	, 183
GALLAGHER, MR. PATRICK, New Y	řork			***	***	126
HARRINGTON, MR. TIMOTHY, M.P.		***	***	***	***	101
HARRIS, VERY REV. DEAN, Ottawa	1	***		57, 178	3, 262	313
HEALY, MR. TIMOTHY MICHAEL,	M.P.	***	***	***	***	96
HENEY, JOHN CHEVALIER, Ottawa	***	***	***	***	105	, 265
HERRON, MR. CHARLES, South De	rry	***	***		142	, 306
HUNT, MR. THOMAS, Melbourne	***	***			46	, 170
KELLY, RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR,	Irish Col	liege, Rome		***	37	, 154
KENNEDY, REV. M. B., Blarney	***	***	***	***	92	, 227
KENNEDY, MR. MARTIN, Wellingto	on, New	Zealand	***	•••	66	, 186

INDEX TO MEMOIRS AND SPEECHES.

					PAC
KILBRIDE, MR. DENIS, M.P	***	***	***		131, 30
LOUGHLIN, MR. THOMAS, Bradford		***	***		109, 27
LUNDON, MR. WILLIAM, Limerick	***		***	***	127, 29
LYNCH, REV. P., Manchester	***	***	***	***	59, 18
LYNSKEY, VERY REV. CANON, Clifde	n	***			29, 15
LYNSKEY, MR. GEO. J., Liverpool	***	***	***	***	136, 30
LYTTLE, REV. Mr., Moneyrea	***	***		***	133, 30
M'CARTAN, VERY REV. CANON, Don	aghmore		***	10	6, 265, 27
M'CARTHY, MR. JUSTIN, M.P.	***	***	***		3, 153, 16
M'FADDEN, REV. JAMES, P.P	100	***	***	***	34, 15,
M'KEOWN, HON. JOHN, Q.C., St. Cat	herine's,	Canada		***	143, 30
MARSHALL, REV. GEORGE F., New I	Iampshir	e			68, 186
MEAGHER, REV. WILLIAM, C.C., Clo	nmel	***		***	86, 21
MURNANE, REV. E., Bermondsey	***	***	***	***	210, 226
MURPHY, Mr. HUGH, Glasgow	***		***	***	108, 268
O'BRIEN, MR. WILLIAM	***			***	121, 28:
O'CALLAGHAN, REV. DENIS, Boston	***			***	49, 173
O'CONNOR, MR. T. P., M.P	***	***			0, 204 312
O'DONNELL, REV. P. J., Montreal	***	• • •	***		111, 271
O'HARA, REV. D., P.P., Kiltimagh			***	***	128, 296
O'HIGGINS, MR. JOHN B., Boston, U.	S.A.		***	***	94, 241
O'LEARY, REV. PETER, P.P., Castlelye		***		***	90, 220
O'LEARY, VERY REV. MONSIGNOR, P.	P. Clon		***	***	83, 213
O'MEARA, MR. M., Dundalk	***		***	***	93, 230
O'MEARA, DR. W. P., Southampton	***	***	111		89, 218
PHILLIPS, REV. E. S., Pennsylvania			***		, 188, 297
Quin, Mr. Alphonsus, Arboe	***			/-	
REDMOND, MR. JOHN E., M.P.	***	***			137, 305
RYAN, REV. DR., Toronto, reads Lette		***			
RYAN, MR. JOSEPH P., New York			***		, 155, 166
SCANLAN, REV. J., P.P., Cloughjordan			***	***	124, 285
SEXTON, MR. THOMAS				***	147, 313
SHEEHY, MR. DAVID, M.P	***	***		***	44
SHINKWIN, VERY REV. CANON, Band-		***		***	42, 155
SMYTH, ALDERMAN W. J., Mayor of				***	153
SULLIVAN, MR. WILLIAM, Bradford				***	78, 202
TIMMINS, DR., Boston				***	87, 216
Wenn Mn Arenen Dublin	•••	***	•••	***	145, 308



Index to Photographs.

Street to Hences				
HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII			Frontes	Merr
MOST REV. JOHN WALSH. D.D., Archibishop of To-	ronto -		-	xv1
MOST REV. PATRICE O'DONNELL, D.D., Bishop of	Raphoe	-		153
				PAOR
FAGE	PAGE	O'Callaghan.		170
Ambrose, Dr., M.P. = 161 Hunt, Mr. T. =	- 170			
Blake, Hon. E., M.P 196 Kelly, ltt. Rev. Monnig	f- 174 (O'Connor, Mr.		
Bromby, Hou. C. H 179 Kennedy, Rev. M. B.		O'Donnell, Re		830
Claney, Rev. M. A 194 Kennedy, Mr. M.		O'Harn, Roy.		860
Clancy, Rev. J 844 Kilbride, Mr. D., M. P.		O'lliggins, M	F. J. B	814
Cornwall, Mr. M 170 Loughin, Mr. T	- 880	O'Leary, Rev	P	S(N)
Contigue, Hon J 220 Lundon, Mr. W	- 044	O'Menra, Mr.		214
Davitt, Mr. M., M.P 161 Lynch, Rev. P	- 180	O'Meara, Dr.	W. P	800
Devlin, Mr. J. B syo Lynskey, V. Rev. Can	OB 163	Phillips, Rev.	E. S	104
Devlin, Mr. Jos see Lynskey, Mr. G. J.	= 900	Quin. Mr. A.		870
Dillon, Mr. J., M.P 250 Lyttle, Rev. Mr	- 86o	Redmond, M	r. J., M.P.	800
Dunienvy, Mr. P 189 M'Cartan, V. Rev. Car		Rynn, Rev. D		848
Ferguson, Mr. J soo M Carthy, Mr. J., M.		Ryan, Mr. J.	¥1	215
Flannery, Very Rev. Dr. 279 McCrea, Rev. D. F.	- 186	Scanian, Rev.	J	200
Flynn, Rev. P. F soo M Fadden, Rev. J.	- 174	Sexton, Mr. T		174
	300	Sheehy, Mr.		108
		Smyth, Alder	mun W	
		Sullivan, Mr.		300
	9.54	Timming Dr.		200
Harris, Very Rev. Dean 189 Meacher, Rev. W.	(Lary			
Healy, Mr. T. M., M.P., 214 Murphy, Mr. H	- 210	Webb, Mr. A.		163
Heney, Chevaller - 819 O'Brien, Mr. W	- 174			

Index to Illustrations.

			_			
		\$17	AGR		L	A686
Grattan Statue, Dublin	99	89	vi	Thomond Bridge, Limerick	-	124
Sugar-loaf Mountain, Co. Kerry	80		X	Delphi, Connemara	***	126
Long Lake, Co. Kerry	100	96	×	The Pullins, Co. Donegal	***	147
Derrynane House and Abbey, Co	 Ker 	PFY.	- 3	Phoenix Park, Dublin	944	128
O'Connell Street, Dublin -	100		8	Kylemore Castle, Co. Galway -	100	131
O'Connell Bridge, Dublin -	-		10	Newcastle, Co. Down	-	133
Donegal Castle			14	Hound Tower, Swords	-	1 15
College of Surgeons, Dublin -			17	Devenish Island, Lough Erne -		1 17
Vale of Oyoca	-	_	111		-	
						1 18
Blarney Castle		010	13	Rapids of Castleconnell	-	110
	80	60	27	Ireland's Eye	-	141
		-	30	The Dargle, Co. Wicklow	0.0	113
Custom House, Dublin	-	-	38	St. Kevin's Kitchen, Glendalough	-	1 10
Errigal, Co. Donegal	60	-	35	Cliffs of Moher, Co. Clare - "	0.0	147
Lismore Castle,	-	91	37	College Green, Dublin	9%	148
Rock of Cashel	611	00	39	Parliament Square, T.C., Dublin -	-	150
Upper Lake, Killarney		00	48	Enniskillen	***	181
O'Connell Tower, Glasnevin -	-	60	43	Glengarriff	-	205
Lough Gill, Co. Sligo	-	-	44	Drogheda		234
Blackwater, Kenmare		-	46	Cahireiveen	-	
O'Connell Monument. Dublin	_	_	48	Children of Victoria		331
December Monument, Dublin	-			Chifs at Valencia	- 19	239
		-	40	scenes at Glenear	-	340
	400	-	51	Garinish Island, Co. Kerry	-	254
	-	-	36	Derryquin Castle, Co. Kerry -	-	204
	der .	100	57	Reennferers, Co. Kerry	- 10	261
Muckross Abbey, Killarney -	80	600	60	Glenbeigh	-	200
		400	61	Holy Well, Co. Donegal		274
		au	U2	Glendalough	99	284
Giant' Causeway	611	-	6.1	Glenone Co. Kower		280
			66	Glenear, Co. Kerry, Gap of Dunloe, Killarney	-	204
Drung Hill, Co. Kerry	-	-	68	Carragh Lake, Co. Kerry	-	
	-	-	71	Waterville and Lough Derriana, Ke		301
Duniuge Castle		_		The Black and Lough Derriana, Ke		300
Dunluce Castle			73	The Blackwater, Co. Kerry	-	14
Reginald's Tower, Waterford	-	000	76	Malin Bay, Co. Donegal	-60	21
negining a rower, wateriord		100	78	St. Michan's Church, Dublin -	- 06	320
National Library, Dublin = Eagle's Nest, Killarney = =	-	0.0	80	"Piper's Cave," Co. Donegai -	der	130
Eagle's Nest, Killarney	-	-	83	Rock Beach, Bundoran	dis	3,30
Cromwell's Bridge, Glengarriff	100	-	R ₇	Lough Currane, Co. Kerry	00	337
Tunnel on Kenmare Road -	-	90	90	Lake Coomasaharn, Co. Kerry -	- 00	346
Muiredach's Cross, Monasterbo	lee	-00	98	Pass of Ballaghbeama, Co. Kerry		35
Bray Head, Co. Wicklow -		-	94	Lower Lough Erne	-	
Howth Castle			02	The Rosses, Co. Donegal		35
Record Tower, Dublin Castle	-		100			360
Devil's Glen, Co. Wicklow -	_	-	101	Majohida Patrami Ca Publica	-	.172
Rundoren	_			Mainhide Estuary, Co. Dublin -	-	380
Bundoran	_		105	Patrick Street, Dublin	be	400
The Quays, Dublin	-	0.0	100	Exterior of Tumulus, Co. Louth -	***	408
Clarete Ville Charles	010	400	108	Multyfarnham	-	415
Glenshesk. Co. Antrim Aasleagh. Connemara	100	69	\$139	Belieck	- 00	
Ansiengh, Connemara		-	111	Coach Road at Derrynane	40	420
Powerscourt Waterfall, Co. Wic	klow	100	112	Royal University, Dublin		
Donegali Place, Belfast	611	-	111	St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin -	-	
Minnaun Cliffs, Achill	44			Trinity College, Dublin	-	44
	-	-		Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin	-0	
River Liffey, Dublin				Chile Chalen Chinedra, Dublin	+00	
River Liffey, Dublin Stephen's Green, Dublin -		911	120	Mullifore Abbuse 41s I seek		
River Liffey, Dublin Stephen's Green, Dublin - Pass of Kylemore	-	-		Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth	- 00	458
Stephen's Green, Dublin - Pass of Kylemore	-	-	181	Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth Interior of Tumulus, Co. Louth -		45
River Liffey, Dublin - Stephen's Green, Dublin - Pass of Kylemore	-			Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth	- 00	458

Index to Letters, Messages and Telegrams.

His Ho	LINESS, POPE LEO XIII.						PAG
	HOP OF PHILADELPHIA	***	000	***	***	0.00	
	HOP OF TORONTO	***	000	***	***	0.00	,
	HON. THOMAS J., Attorney	Cieneral	Outsmale	***	***		1, 15
CONATY	REV. T. J., Plattsburgh, N	ow Vork	Succusio	inc	***	0.00	. 26
	REV. PATRICK, Buffalo, N.			***	***	***	
	TES FROM ABROAD			***	***	0 + 0	- /
	, UNITED STATES	AND CL	***	***	***	* * *	37
Teasanner.	THOMAS ADDIS, M.D., No			***	***	***	
	L, Mr. Frank B., Sydney		949	***	***	444	15
			***	***	***	***	257
HOWLEY	, Most Rev. M. F., Bisho	p of St.	John's, N	ewfound	land	***	255
HENEY,	CHEVALIER, Telegrams rega	irding fal	se insinus	itions	***	***	26
	REV. MICHAEL J., New Yo		100	***	***	***	261
IRISH N	ATIONAL FEDERATION, Auc			***	***	***	196
99		wen Bran		***	***	***	199
91	" " Gret	at Britair					186
99	" " Islin	gton	***	***	***	***	199
**	n n Sout	h Austra	lia	***	***	***	195
RISH PR	OFESSORS AND SEMINARIST	s, Cher,	France	***			197
RISHMES	n in Brisbane, Queensland	***	***			***	261
39	Farnworth	***	***	***	***	***	307
17	Hunslet, Leeds	***	***	***	***	***	261
11	Leith	***	***		***		198
99	Newfoundland, per Bis	hop of S	t. John's	***	***	***	255
11	West Coast of New Ze	aland				***	256
33	Pretoria, South Africa	***		***	***	***	
39	Quebec		***		***	***	259 186
19	Queensland	***	***		***	***	
12	North Queensland	***		***	***	***	195
99	Rockhampton, Queensla		***	***	***	***	257
19	Pan-Celtic Convention,			***	144	***	258
11	South Tasmania		***	***	***	4 6 4	197
	MAJOR J. EUSTACE, M.P.	***	***	* * 4	**	* * *	258
	R, Mr. James, M.P		***	***	***	* * *	198
	N, Mr. J. V., Adelaide, Sou	th Assats	en lie	***	***	100	199
T. PATE	ick's Society, Cornwall, O	un Austi		***	111	***	197
	ca a society, comwall, O	mano	0.00	***	+ 1 0		258



MOST REV. JOHN WALSH, D.D.,
Archbishop or Toronto.

(See pp. 1, 11, 155.)

Irish Trace Convention, 1896.

A Convention Suggested by His Grace the Archbishop of Toronto.

St. Michael's Palace, Toronto, 8th October, 1895.

To Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, Q.C., M.P., Humewood, Toronto.

My Dear Mr. Blake—I regret exceedingly to learn that you are very much run down in health, and that, in consequence of nervous prostratica, brought on by excessive work, you have felt obliged to decline the public reception with which the citizens of Toronto intended to greet your return and to give you a hearty welcome home. I regret that this reception had to be abandoned for this reason also, that the leading citizens of Toronto wished to give public encorsement to the course you have pursued in advocating the cause of Home Rule for Ireland, and because they wished to repel with righteous indignation the malignant attacks made upon you, not so much by political antagonists as by false brethren and treacherous co-labourers. The sacrifices you have made in the cause of Home Rule ought to have been more than sufficient to shield you from mean insinuations and vindictive calumnies, and should also have proved to the most suspicious and incredulous your absolute devotion to the Irish cause.

If I mention, in passing, the enormous sacrifices you have made, it is not on your account, but for the sake of good and true men at home who might be led astray in your regard by false statements and misrepresentations. Here in Canada, where you were bred, born and reared, and where you are well known both as to your private and public life, you need no certificate of character from any individual or from any body of citizens, for you possess in an eminent degree the esteem, admiration, and confidence of your countrymen. In saying this much

I am sure that I voice the public opinion of Canada.

I think, too, sir, that we in this country have a right and a duty to raise our voice in protest against the destructive dissensions that rend the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary representatives, that do so much to discredit their cause and ruin their effectiveness. Canada has contributed generously towards the Home Rule Parliamentary Fund. Not much more than a year ago we here in Toronto, in the midst of great financial depression, subscribed the handsome sum of something more than seven thousand dollars. In other cities and districts of the Dominion sums proportionately as large were freely given for the purpose. In view of these large monetary contributions, in view of the

material and moral aid which by words and acts, and even by resolutions unanimously passed in the Dominion Parliament, we have given towards the Irish cause, we Canadians have a right to deplore and deprecate the fatal dissensions that have weakened and paralysed the Irish Parliamentary representation, and that have thwarted and baffled the Home Rule cause. This is not the place to discuss the cause of these dissensions, it must suffice here to raise our voice in protest against them, and to declare that those responsible for them have brought shame and dishonour on their country, and are guilty of high treason against the Irish race at home and abroad.

For those fatal dissensions it is our solemn conviction that neither you nor those with whom you are working are in anywise responsible. You have but been their victims. In order to try to keep peace and harmony in your ranks you have borne quietly with misrepresentations and calumnies until patience ceased to be a virtue, and your silence was construed by some into an admission of guilt. Will Irishmen never give heed to the warning of our national poet, which is also the teach-

ing of our sad history?-

"Erin, thy silent tear never shall cease, Erin, thy languid smile ne'er shall increase, Till like the rainbow's light Thy various tints unite And form in Heaven's sight One arch of peace."

How is this necessary union to be effected? How are the Irish National forces to be focussed into a great centre of strength and power? It seems to me that to the solution of this problem Irish patriotism and Irish statesmanship should now devote themselves. Surely Ireland must still have the power and vitality to shake off from her the fatal dissensions that have of late preyed upon her and threatened the extinction of her national life; surely she must not allow herself, like a derelict ship at sea, to drift about aimlessly and hopelessly, a prey to the waves and storms of angry passions and internecine feuds.

This is not a time for despondency or despair, it is rather a time for courageous resolve and earnest action. The Home Rule cause has cost the Irish race too many sacrifices, it has been pushed too far towards realisation to be now abandoned because of the difficulties that beset it. These difficulties are for the most part the direct result of personal jealousies, animosities and ambitions included in by certain of

the Irish representatives, and doubtless they can be pushed out of the way by the united and determined action of the Irish people.

As an Irishman interested in the destinies of my native land, I trust I may, without presumption, venture to make a suggestion, which if acted on, would, in my opinion, be instrumental in securing that unity of counsel and of action amongst the Nationalists of Ireland so necessary for the success of the cause they have at heart. My suggestion is this: Let a great National Convention be held in Dublin, composed of chosen representatives of the clergy and people of Ireland and of an advisory representation of the Irish race abroad. In that Convention let Ireland speak out her mind, let not her voice be like a broken musical instrument emitting discordant notes and jarring sounds, but

let it on the contrary be clear, loud, and emphatic, insisting on unity and condemning faction. Let her point out and uphold the Parliamentary representatives whose methods and conduct she approves, and let her mark out and condemn those whose intolerance of control, personal jealousies and animosities have done so much to break the unity and waste the strength of the National Party. Dissensions and feuds have, in the past, been the ruin and curse of Ireland. Let her stamp them out and cast them from her as things more noxious than the serpents St. Patrick banished from her shores. In that Convention let the voice of Ireland's sons abroad be heard and advice considered. They live under free institutions and are accustomed to the workings of deliberative assemblies and representative governments, and hence the advice and experience of their chosen delegates in the present condition of Irish affairs would be of the utmost value and importance. Surely representative Irishmen in convention assembled, free from prejudices and passions, having at heart not the triumph of party or faction, but the welfare and honour of their race and the triumph of their country's cause, will be able to concert and adopt such measures as will enforce proper discipline and due subordination in the ranks of the nation's representatives, and, in this way, will be able to secure amongst them that unity of purpose and action so absolutely vital to their success.

A great National Convention, such as I venture to suggest, speaking with the authority of the nation, and voicing its fixed and unalterable purpose to labour for and to win the right of self-government, would give new hope and heart and energy to Irishmen at home and abroad, and it would be able to restore unity amongst the ranks of the Irish Nationalist representatives, to make of them once more a compact body and an irresistible power in the Imperial Parliament. When Ireland speaks to Englishmen through such a body her just demands cannot be

long refused her.

Wishing you a safe and prosperous voyage to the sunny lands of the Southern Cross, and with sentiments of sincere esteem,

Believe me to be, my dear Mr. Blake, Yours very faithfully,

JOHN WALSH,
Archbishop of Toronto.



Acceptance of Suggestion by 3risb Party.

In pursuance of notice, a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party was held in Dublin, 14th November, 1895. The following present:—

W. Abraham, North-East Cork Dr. R. Ambrose, West Mayo M. Austin, West Limerick E. Barry, South Cork P. G. Garvill, Newry Bernard Collery, North Sligo T. J. Condon, East Tipperary T. Curran, South Sligo T. B. Curran, North Donegal E. Crean, Ossory, Queen's Co. Daniel Crilly, North Mayo John Dillon, East Mayo C. J. Engledow, North Kildare James P. Farrell, West Cavan Thomas J. Farrell, South Kerry P. Ffrench, South Wexford J. Finucane, East Limerick J. C. Flynn, North Cork Dr. J. F. Fox, Tullamore James Gibney, North Meath James Gilhooly, West Cork John Hammond, Carlow T. M. Healy, North Louth M. Healy, Cork T. J. Healy, North Wexford J. F. Hogan, Mid-Tipperary J. Jordan, South Fermanagh D. Kilbride, North Galway E, F, V, Knox, Derry City

D. MacAleese, North Monaghan P. McDermott, North Kilkenny Dr. M. A. MacDonnell, Leix J. G. S. MacNeill, South Donegal F. Mandeville, South Tipperary M. J. Minch, South Kildare B. C. Molloy, Birr, King's Co. S. Morris, South Kilkenny M. M'Cartan, South Down Justin M'Carthy, North Longford E. L. M'Hugh, South Armagh P. A. M'Hugh, North Leitrim J. F. X. O'Brien, Cork City P. J. O'Brien, North Tipperary A. O'Connor, East Donegal James O'Connor, West Wicklow T. P. O'Connor, Scotland Ward, Liverpool F. E. O'Keeffe, Limerick City W. O'Malley, Connemara P. J. Power, East Waterford John Roche, East Galway J. J. Shee, West Waterford D. Sheehy, South Galway Donald Sullivan, Sth. Westmeath T. D. Sullivan, West Donegal Dr. C. K. D. Tanner, Mid-Cork James Tuite, North Westmeath S. Young, East Cavan

Mr. John Dillon moved, and Mr. J. C. Flynn seconded:—"That this party approves of the suggestion made by the Archbishop of Toronto in favour of a National Convention representative of the Irish race throughout the world, and that with the view of carrying this decision into effect the Chairman and Committee of the Irish Party are hereby authorised to communicate with the Executive of the National Federation and jointly with them to make arrangements for the holding of such a Convention."

Mr. T. M. Healy moved, and Dr. Fox seconded, the following amendment:—"That a Convention of the people of Ireland be called forthwith, and that the Council of the Federation be asked to appoint a committee to arrange the basis of representation and invitations of the delegates and clergy according to established precedents in times past; that invitations to prominent and representative Irishmen or organisations should be issued by the Chairman of the Irish Party."

The amendment was negatived without a division, and Mr. Dillon's motion was carried without a division.

Constitution of the Irish Race Convention.

AT a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party, held on 20th May, 1896, Mr. JOHN DILLON in the chair, the Chairman reported that in pursuance of the following resolution passed at the meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party, held in Dublin on Thursday, November 14th, 1895—"That this Party approves of the suggestion made by the Archbishop of Toronto in favour of a National Convention representative of the Irish race throughout the world, and that with a view of carrying this decision into effect the Chairman and Committee of the Irish Party are hereby authorised to communicate with the Executive of the National Federation and jointly with them to make arrangements for the holding of such a Convention"—the Executive of the National Federation and the Chairman had prepared the following scheme:—

A National Convention of representatives of the Irish race throughout the world, supporters of the Irish Home Rule movement,

is summoned to meet in Dublin, on 1st September, 1896.
The delegates shall be as follows:—

I.-IRELAND.

(1) Three delegates from each branch of the Irish National Federation, and if there are more than 300 members in the branch, one additional delegate for each 100 members in excess of 300.

The delegates are to be elected at a meeting of the branch to be held after not less than one week's notice on some day, not later than 16th August, and a certificate of election, signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the meetings, is to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Irish National Federation, 24 Rutland Square, Dublin, so as to be received not later than 18th August.

(2) One delegate from each parish in which there is no branch of the Federation. The delegate is to be elected at parish meeting to be called by local Nationalists, and the foregoing provisions are to apply.

(3) Clergymen of all denominations.

(4) Nationalist members of local public bodies.

(5) All members of the Central Body of the Irish National Federation. (This included all members of the Irish Parliamentary

Party.)

(6) Three delegates from each Gaelic Athletic Club, Young Ireland Society, National Literary Society, Labour Organisation, and Irish National Foresters, having not less than 50 members, and if there are more than 300 members in the branch, one additional delegate for each 100 members in excess of 300. The delegates from the abovementioned organisations swall be elected at meetings to be called by the officers of the organisation, and all the foregoing provisions are to apply.

II.-GREAT BRITAIN.

One delegate from each branch of the Irish National League of Great Britain, having not less than 50 members, and one additional

delegate for each 100 members in excess of 50.

The foregoing provisions are to apply, subject, however, to such further provision as may be made by the Executive of the Irish National League of Great Britain, which is now charged with the administration of the matter.

GENERAL PROVISION FOR DELEGATES FROM ABROAD .- As distance and expense preclude the possibility of the attendance of any large number of delegates from abroad, and local knowledge is required intelligently to adjust the distribution of representation, no express limitation of numbers is proposed. Certificates of election are in all cases to be forwarded, so as to reach the Secretary of the Irish National Federation, Dublin, no later than 15th August.

III.—NORTH AMERICA.

(a) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Delegates to be chosen .- (1) By the Irish National Federation of America; (2) by the Ancient Order of Hibernians; (3) by the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin).

The delegates are to be chosen by each organisation according to the rules to be made by the Executive of the organisation concerned.

(b) CANADA.

Delegates to be chosen for their own cities and the country at large by the Irish National organisations in each of the following cities:-

Ottawa; Montreal; Toronto; Quebec; St. John; Halifax.

The delegates are to be elected at a meeting of the organisation, or if there be more than one organisation at a joint meeting of the organisations of the city, to be called by concerted action of the executive in the city.

IV. -- AUSTRALASIA.

Delegates for the city and district and the country at large to be chosen by the local branch of the Irish National Federation, or where there is no such branch by the concerted action of the local Nationalists-Australia:-Sydney; Melbourne; Adelaide; Brisbane; Perth. NEW ZEALAND: -Auckland; Wellington; Dunedin; Westland District. TASMANIA: - Hobart; Launcestown.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.—Further provisions as to the supply to and delivery by delegates of credentials, and other necessary preliminaries for the organisation of the Convention will be prepared and issued in due time.

On the motion of Mr. DENIS KILBRIDE, seconded by Mr. P. C. Doogan, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :- "That having considered the scheme drawn up by the Executive of the Irish National Federation and the Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party for holding a National Convention in Dublin in September next, which has been submitted to us, we approve of the constitution and mode of election proposed herein.

All Irish Pationalist Members of Parliament Invited.

At the foregoing meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party held in Dublin on the 20th May, 1896, it was moved by Mr. JOHN DILLON, seconded by Dr. M.A. MACDONNELL, and adopted with one dissentient:—Resolved—"That we, the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, in meeting assembled, feel it our duty to record our conviction of the supreme importance to the National cause of a restoration of unity amongst the supporters of the Home Rule movement, and in our earnest desire to accomplish that result we are prepared to meet on fair and equal terms those from whom we are unhappily now divided, and to join in the reconstitution of a united Home Rule party, in which every supporter of the movement shall be cordially received and justly considered, regardless of all past differences, and having regard only to his capacity to render service to the common cause. We cordially invite Mr. John Redmond and his friends to co-operate with us in a common earnest endeavour to make the coming Convention an effective means of satisfying the widespread yearning of the Irish race for a thorough re-union. While it is obviously impossible for us without the concurrence of those concerned to include them in the arrangements for the National Convention, we ask them to join us in making such arrangements as will secure to them a full representation in the Convention on the basis hereinbefore indicated."

Resolutions and Motions.

UPON 20th August, 1896, the Organising Committee of the Convention gave public notice that resolutions and notices of motion received up to the 29th would be placed upon the Agenda Paper.



Letter from United States and Canadian Delegates.

Dublin, 31st August, 1896.

To the Editor of the Freeman's Journal.

Dear Sir—Will you permit us through your columns to remove the impression which a portion of the Dublin Press has endeavoured to create—that the delegates from abroad who are now here are committed to any section of the Irish Parliamentary representation. As secretaries of the American and Canadian delegations respectively, we are empowered to state that they come here thoroughly unpledged and uncommitted to any expression of opinion touching the relative merits of any section of the Irish representation in Parliament. From conversation with individual members of the American, Australian, Canadian, and African delegations, we can assure you that they are wholly unbiassed. May we add that they have a right to expect courteous treatment, if not a cordial welcome, from every Irish newspaper that professes to advocate Home Rule for this country. The members of the delegations from abroad have come to Ireland at their own expense, and at a considerable sacrifice of time and personal convenience, and are entitled to fair treatment from the Irish Press,

Yours respectfully,

Jos. P. RYAN, Secretary Irish National Federation of America. P. F. CRONIN,

Secretary Canadian Delegation,



O'CONNELL"STREET, LOOKING SOUTH.

The Leinster Ball.

This Hall, in which meetings of the Convention were held, is said to hold from 2,500 to 3,000. Both at opening and conclusion of each day's sitting it appeared full with numbers standing at back of seats and in the passages.

The Convention sat, without break, on the first day, four hours; on the second, five hours; on the third, five hours and a half.

The Hall was decorated with flowers, and amongst the mottoes set out on large scrolls were the following:—

OWEN ROE O'NEILL-" Redouble your blows, and the battle is won."

SWIFT—"By the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are and ought to be as free a people as your brethren in England."

GRATTAN—"I have entreated an attendance on this day, that you, in the most public manner, may deny the claim of the British Parliament to make laws for Ireland, and with one voice lift up your hands against it."

WOLFE TONE—"I have laboured to abolish the infernal spirit of religious persecution by uniting the Catholic and Dissenter."

EMMET-44 Brothers, march, march to glory; in your country's cause unite."

O'CONNELL—"There is no statute of limitation against the liberties of a people, Ages may roll over, yet their rights remain."

MITCHEL—"When Irishmen consent to let the past become indeed history, not party politics, and begin to learn from it the lessons of mutual respect and tolerance, instead of endless bitterness and enmity, then, at last, this distracted land shall see the dawn of Hope and Peace."

DAVIS—"Let your purpose bide.
We'll have our own again;
Let the game be fairly tried,
We'll have our own again."

ALLEN, LARKIN AND O'BRIEN-" God Save Ireland."

BUTT--"The destinies, the mighty destinies, of our country's children are in our hands, and curse, oh! curse the man who sows dissension amongst us."

GALBRAITH—"Be united, so that by uniting they would get rid of what we would call the accursed Union."

PARNELL—"Let us cast saide all feelings of self-interest. Let us act only with a desire to benefit our country—to regain for her a place amongst the nations of the world."



rom photo byl

O'CONNELL IRIDGE, DUELING

[11]

Biographical Sketches of the Speakers.

MOST REV. JOHN WALSH, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF TORONTO.

MOST REV. JOHN WALSH, who originated the Irish Race Convention, son of James Walsh, and Ellen Macdonald, was born in the parish of Mooncoin, in the County of Kilkenny, Ireland, May 23rd, 1830. This parish is adjacent to the "gentle Suir," and is situated in one of the most charming sections of Leinster's charming province. The Walsh family (written also Wallis) is a very old and honoured one. The first members in Ireland were two Barons of Cornwall, David and Philip, who accompanied Earl Strongbow in 1171. The former was created Baron of Carrickmaine by Henry II., the latter, who had settled in Kilkenny, Baron of Pildon. Here, in the course of time, they acquired large possessions, which to the present day bear the name of the "Walsh Mountains." This property was afterwards confiscated during the different persecutions. Nor was property the only sacrifice they were called upon to make; the family could pride themselves in having distinguished martyrs amongst their number, one William Walsh, Bishop of Meath, suffering under Elizabeth, another, who was Archbishop of Cashel, suffering under Cromwell. During the time of the Commonwealth, and in the reign of William III., the elder branch engaged in the military service of France and Austria. The branch which remained at home, and to which the subject of our sketch belongs, lived for generations in a condition of comfort and independence.

Evincing at an early age a desire to study for the priesthood, he was sent in due time to St. John's College, Waterford, where he made his preparatory studies with great success, standing first in his class of philosophy. He remained at St. John's for one year's theology, when he decided that his vocation lay in the vast field of foreign missions. Accordingly, breaking all the endearing ties of home, friends and native land, he left for Canada in April, 1852. The following autumn, young Walsh entered the Grand Seminary of Montreal as a student of the Diocese of Toronto. His industry and talent, his exemplary conduct, his strict observance of rule won the approbation

of his superiors, and justified hopes concerning his future, which have since been realized.

On October 22nd, 1854, Bishop de Charbonnel ordained him subdeacon in the Bishop's private chapel, and deacon on October 29th. On November 1st following, the Feast of All Saints, the same prelate raised him to the holy priesthood in St. Michael's Cathedral.

On Easter Sunday, April 20th, 1862, Father Walsh was made Vicar-General of the diocese. In September of the same year, resigning his rectorably of the cathedral, he returned as pastor to St. Mary's Church. In May, 1863, he attended the third Provincial Council of Quebec, as theologian to the Bishop of Toronto. The following spring Vicar-General Walsh after twelve years' absence, determined on visiting Ireland. His friends availed themselves of the opportunity to testify their regard, by presenting him with a gold watch, bearing the inscription, "A token of affectionate esteem to the Very Rev. J. Walsh, V.G., from his friends in St. Michael's Parish, Toronto." They also, with great thoughtfulness, sent to Father Walsh's mother a present of a gold cross, very massive and beautifully wrought with wreaths of shamrocks, bearing the inscription, "A souvenir sent from Toronto, Canada, to the mother of the Very Rev. J. Walsh, V.G., from his admiring friends."

Upon this occasion the Vicar-General paid his first visit to the Eternal City. He was received most graciously by the Venerable Pius IX., who manifested the deepest interest in the Canadian Church. He was shortly afterwards appointed Bishop of the See of London, Canada, and his consecration took place in St. Michael's Cathedral,

Toronto, November 10th, 1867.

But not only was Bishop Walsh honoured by his charge; he received also a signal mark of the confidence reposed in him by his superiors in Rome. The late Dr. Lynch, Archbishop of Toronto, either signified to the Propaganda his wish to resign, or had actually sent in his resignation. What circumstances led up to this important step are irrelevant to this biographical sketch. Suffice it to say that Dr. Conroy, delegate of the Holy See, wrote Bishop Walsh from Montreal, 16th September, 1877, as follows: "You will probably have already received Cardinal Franchi's letter announcing that the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, with the approval of His Holiness, has designated you as Coadjutor for Toronto."

On November 27th, 1889, Archbishop Walsh preached his last sermon in London Cathedral, and took farewell of his priests and the congregation. The clergy presented him with an address, congratulating him upon his exaltation, calling to mind all that had been accomplished during his administration in the diocese.

He now returns to the scene of his earlier life. The form was erect,

the voice full and rich, as erst it rang through those vaulted walls. The silver hair showing beneath the mitre alone told the story that years

had passed and age was coming on.

The influence and character of Archbishop Walsh were soon felt, combining, as he does to a wonderful degree, suavity of manner and firmness of purpose. Respect for authority was shown with a cordiality which proved that authority had won confidence and love, whilst firmly requiring obedience. The erection of Sunnyside Chapel, the renovation of St. Michael's Cathedral, the visitation of the Archdiocese, the encouragement of students for the priesthood, the foundation of St. John's splendid Industrial Homes for boys, are some of the marks of progress made by religion since His Grace's arrival in Toronto.

The Archbishop of Toronto is as distinguished for his learned and brilliant writings, as for his most successful administration and his manifold material works of zeal. Besides many eloquent and luminous pastorals, he has contributed several profoundly learned and incisive articles to our leading Catholic Reviews. In 1869, he issued an erudite pastoral, "Upon the magisterial authority of the Church in matters of Faith," as also "Upon the nature of General Councils, and their importance and bearing in Catholic theology on articles of Faith." But perhaps His Grace's masterpiece, is his famous pastoral on Papal anfallibility, issued in 1875. He has also published a very instructive and touching little work upon the Sacred Heart of Jesus. We regret that we cannot dwell longer upon his writings, which, by their number and quality, would deserve more extended and careful notice.

The one example we give—His Grace's splendid letter to the Hon. Edward Blake—may be taken as a specimen of the illustrious writer's thought and style, as well as of his thorough statesmanship and

sterling Irish patriotism.



TABA BROOCH.

MOST REV. DR. O'DONNELL.

Ineliand has always been most fortunate in her prelates, and to their ability and zeal, the Celt is indebted for the faith, and largely for whatever concessions have been wrested from an alien, and generally hostile, government. The present members of the Irish Episcopacy, are worthy successors of those who have preceded them, and for zeal, ability, and patriotism, are not surpassed by any Episcopal body in the Catholic world. Among the most distinguished, and best known of Irish prelates, must be mentioned the Most Rev. Dr. Patrick



From photo by]

DONEGAL CASTLE.

W. Lawrence, Dublin

O'Donnell, the young and promising Bishop of Raphoe. From his accession to the episcopal bench, though struggling quietly and unostentatiously on behalf of his people, his name was forced prominently before the Irish public. Many causes contributed to this result. He was the youngest of the Irish prelates, perhaps then the youngest bishop in the Catholic world, and the historical association of his name, his splendid presence, his marked ability, and the land war then raging in his diocese, turned upon him not only the eyes of the Irish people, but of the Irish race. At no time, however, was his name brought into such remarkable prominence, as on the occasion

of the Irish Race Convention, where he presided, and whose delibera-

tions he guided with such firmness and wisdom.

Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, was born at Kilbraine, near Gienties, in County Donegal, on 28th November, 1855. He made his classical studies first in the Diocesan Seminary, Letterkenny, and subsequently was two years in Dublin, attending the classes of the Faculty of Arts in the Catholic University. He entered Maynooth in 1875, where he matriculated for the second year's philosophy class. His course was very distinguished, and on the re-establishment of the Dunboyne in 1879, was among its first students. In 1880, after keen and able competition, he succeeded in securing a vacant chair of theology, when only in his twenty-fifth year. A chair of theology in Maynooth is the most coveted distinction among young Irish ecclesiastics, and the very ablest only think of competing for the honour. Referring to the thesis of Dr. O'Donnell on that occasion. Dr. McCarthy, then Bishop of Kerry, in writing to Dr. O'Brien, of Limavady, stated, "I have just returned from Maynooth, where I have been present for some days at a thesis for the vacant chair of theology. Father O'Donnell was entirely the best candidate." Four years afterwards, he was promoted to the Prefectorship of the Dunboyne, in succession to Dr. Healy, who was appointed coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert. He was then but in his twenty-ninth year, an unprecedentedly early age for a position so distinguished. Four years later, when thirty-three years of age, he was raised by the Holy See to the Eishopric of Raphoe, in succession to Dr. Logue, who was transferred to Armagh, and is now Cardinal Archbishop of the Primatial See. Dr. O'Donnell has, therefore, been promoted through the various offices at Maynooth, to the episcopal bench, more rapidly than any one who has ever been connected with that institution.

Since his elevation to the See of Raphoe, he has been interested not only in the spiritual concerns of his people, but in and out of season has watched over their material welfare. By his counsel, which is ever at the disposal of the poorest, and his great influence on the Congested Districts Board, he has been the means of effecting very beneficial advantages for the poor peasantry and fishermen on the various sea-boards of his diocese. But though interested in their worldly prosperity, the cause of religion is his chief concern, and schools, presbyteries and churches spring up as by magic throughout his populous diocese. He is engaged, as we write, in building a magnificent cathedral in Letterkenny, which, when completed, will be one of the most costly and beautiful edifices in Ireland. It must not be omitted that the Diocese of Raphoe has given to the church some of her most illustrious sons. Among others, the diocese claims with pride, the great Apostle of Iona, St. Columba, whose 13th anniver-

sary was celebrated throughout the world, but nowhere with such devotion and earnestness, as in the di cese of his birth. The festivities of the 9th June, 1897, should long be remembered by the good people of Donegal, who listened with rapt attention to the sweet cadences of the old Celtic tongue, while the panegyric was being preached on the saint who had gone to his eternal reward thirteen hundred years ago, and whom they proudly claim as their own. The success of the festivities is largely due to the young and energetic bishop, whose efforts were fully recognised by his devoted people, and he had the further gratification of receiving telegrams of congratulation and encouragement, not alone from the various parts of Ireland, but from the most distant parts of the world. His distinguished namesake, of Spanish nobility, joined in the stream of congratulation, claiming kindred here. The Archbishop of Armagh, Cardinal Logue, attended, and delivering a very feeling address, was evidently touched by the splendid celebration.

Dr. O'Donnell presided at the great Irish Convention, and his action on that occasion will mark him out through all time for an honcared place, come weal, come woe, in Irish history. His magnificent presence, his articulate and pleasing voice, his splendid gesture, his forcible character, and the ability which he displayed in guiding the counsels of the vast assembly, were the theme of every tongue, and even the most hostile Press had hardly a fault to find, except that he was young. On the closing day of the Convention, he referred to the financial support due to the Irish Party, and he was first himself among Irish prelates to respond, giving a munificent donation. His example was soon followed by the late Bishop of Ross, Dr. Fitzgerald, Dr. Lyster, Bishop of Achonry, Dr. M'Cormack, Bishop of Galway, and Dr. Owens, Bishop of Clogher. We could write at length on the illustrious Bishop of Raphoe, but we can only here give the leading facts in his life, nude and unadorned, leaving much to be said in future, of a career which will in all human probability be long and doubtless most distinguished.



JOHN DILLON, M.P.

THERE is no living Irishman in whom, to-day, so much interest is centred as in Mr. John Dillon, the present Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party. It may be assumed that a life of this famous statesman will be soon produced by some one equal to the task, very different indeed in colouring from the weekly sketch which has been for some time appearing in the Nation newspaper. Such a production should have a great interest for the Irish race. In this



ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, DUBLIN.

brief sketch it is only our purpose to give the leading facts in the life of this great statesman, who, as every politician, is the subject of admiration by some, but the victim of misrepresentation by others.

Mr. John Dillon is second son of the late Mr. John Blake Dillon, formerly M.P. for Tipperary, and one of the rebels of 1848. He was born in 1851, and was educated at the Catholic University, Dublin. His course, especially in mathematics, was very distinguished. He subsequently studied medicine, and became a licentiate of the Loyal College of Surgeons of Ireland. But true to the traditions of his family, his bent was politics, and he was accordingly returned as member for Tipperary in 1880. In the month of March, 1883, he was obliged to resign his seat, owing to ill health. During this period

of his Parliamentary career he was a most ardent supporter of the policy of Mr. Parnell. On regaining his health, he took to politics once more, and was returned unopposed for East Mayo in 1885, and was re-elected to the same constituency in 1886. He was liberated on bail, pending a political trial in November, 1890, but in company with Mr. William O'Brien he forfeited the bail, and escaped to the United States, in order to fulfil a lecturing engagement there. He returned to Ireland in 1891, and giving himself up to the authorities, was imprisoned from February of that year until the 30th July in the same. In a speech delivered at Mallow on August 9th, a few days after his release, he openly took sides against Mr. Parnell, in order to effect his retirement from the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party, while advocating in the main his policy.

On the retirement of Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Dillon was elected Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party for 1806. He was also re-elected for 1897, securing 33 votes, to 18 for Sir Thomas Esmonde. It is stated that Sir Thomas had no knowledge of his being pitted against Mr. Dillon, and if elected, would refuse to accept the honour. Since becoming Chairman of the Party, Mr. Dillon has been the subject of most virulent attacks. He has usually the honour of a daily leader in the Irish Independent, as also in the Nation, both of which papers, although holding very different views, are at one in heaping upon him abuse and often misrepresentation. In order to give effect to the resolutions of the Irish Race Convention he held a series of meetings throughout the country. He was generally well received, but on one or two occasions was subjected to a storm of abuse, that must have been most trying to him. However, he displayed no impatience, and we cannot recall that he uttered one stinging word, notwithstanding his treatment. His demeanour on these trying occasions made for him many friends and admirers, and won for the cause a host of sympathisers. In such circumstances the politician finds himself very awkwardly placed. If he is buoyant in spite of all opposition, he is called foolhardy; if he becomes depressed, giving up his project as hopeless, he is the subject of ridicule, and the real material is said to be wanting. Mr. Dillon was in turn the subject of both attacks, but he outlived the ordeal, and his general conduct on these occasions has marked him out as a politician and statesman of the highest order.

At the Irish Race Convention, the greatest interest was centred in the Irish leader, especially among the foreign delegates, who had been familiar, through the Press, with his career for some seventeen years, but had not the privilege of seeing him in the flesh. As he rose to speak the strain became intense, and every word that fell from his lips was listened to with ready ears and heartily treasured.

In appearance, Mr. Dillon is the essence of sincerity, and is, we think, the last person in the world, the candid could think of accusing of dishonesty. He is an accomplished speaker, fluent and pleasing, but at times the delivery is so rapid, that there is difficulty in keeping pace with the flow. This characteristic was most pronounced in his earlier public life. Withal, Mr. Dillon is a remarkably gifted orator and in this regard is eminently fitted for the position which he now holds. The charges of dishonesty have long since been disposed of; the charges of inability may be easily set aside by saying there is no better available, and the charges of ambition can hardly stand in face of the fact that Mr. Dillon over and over again solicited Mr. Sexton to assume the leadership, and on his own acceptance offered to vacate it at any time that Mr. Sexton might choose to act in that capacity. But all was not sufficient to meet the requirements of some Irish politicians, who appear to have no very definite idea themselves of what would satisfy them. The leaders of the Irish Party at all times, but especially since the inception of the Land League, have at one time or other received their due proportion of abuse. Mr. Dillon forms no exception to the general rule, but yet he keeps to his post in Parliament. with a perseverance and a patience that is astonishing, endeavouring to effect reforms in the interests of his countrymen, who sometimes are ill-disposed to appreciate his services.

In private life he is gentlemanly and entertaining, while he is much given to reading. Although an able orator and debater, and reads extensively for his subject, he is not literary in the proper sense of the word, and has written little beyond an occasional letter to the Press. His home is in Dublin, where he lives happily in the enjoyment of considerable private means. In 1895 he married Elizabeth, the accomplished daughter of Mr. Justice James Charles Mathew, a union which has been a source of great joy to him. Dillon is now M.P. for East Mayo, and at the same time Sessional Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party. That he may long remain as leader, to guide the destinies of the Irish nation, is the wish of the vast majority of the Irish race, who believe in his ability and sincerity, and have truly the interests of Ireland at heart.



HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M.P.

THE distinguished Canadian statesman, who forms the subject of this memoir, occupies a very prominent position in current Irish politics. His career in Canada was most remarkable, and the same qualities that made him leader of public opinion and most universally admired of his countrymen, are fast making for him a correspondingly honoured place in Ireland, and with the sympathisers of the Irish cause in Great Britain. Mr. Blake possesses in an eminent degree the qualities that go to make a great statesman. He is physically a splendid figure, tall and muscular, a skilled lawyer, an accomplished orator, and has moreover an henoured family tradition in politics. The Irish Party have been singularly fortunate in securing the services of so distinguished a member, and his accession to their tanks has contributed

largely to their status.

The Hon. Edward Blake was born in Adelaide, Middlesex, Ontario, 13th October, 1833, eldest son of the late Hon. William Hume Blake, who was a distinguished jurist of Upper Canada, and sat in the Canadian Assembly from 1847 to 1849, and was, moreover, Solicitor-General for a short time for Upper Canada in the Lafontaine-Baldwin administration, and subsequently Chancellor of the Province. His mother's unmarried name was Catherine Hume, grand-daughter of William Hume, Esq., of Humewood, formerly M.P. for Wicklow, in the British House of Commons. He was educated at Upper Canada College, and the University of Toronto, where he received first-class honors in classics, and obtained the degree of M.A. In 1858 he married Margaret, daughter of the late Right Rev. B. Cronyn, Lord Bishop of Huron. He was called to the bar of Upper Canada in Michaelmas term, 1856, and appointed Q.C. in 1864. In 1871 he was elected a Bencher of the Law Society of Ontario, and became a Bencher ex-officio in 1875. He was appointed treasurer of the Law Society of Upper Canada in 1879, but in time resigned, in consequence of his absence in England. For some time he was one of the examiners in, and lecturers on, Equity Law, for the Upper Canada Law Society. During the space of fourteen years, Mr. Blake acted as President of the Toronto General Trusts Co., but he resigned in 1896. He has been Chancellor of Toronto University since 1873, and in 1889 the hon. degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by that famed institution. In 1869 he was offered the Chancellorship of Ontario, which he declined, and in 1875 he also declined the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of Canada, as well as the marked honour of Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George in 1876. From 1867 to 1872 he sat for South Bruce. in the Legislative Assembly of Ontario. During that time he was leader of the Opposition, and afterwards Premier, and President of the Executive Council of Ontario. On the 7th November, 1873, he was sworn of the Privy Council of Canada, and was a member of Hon. Alex. McKenzie's administration, without portfolio from that date until February, 1874, when he resigned. From 19th May, 1875 to 7th June, 1877, he was Minister of Justice of Canada, and President of the Council from the latter date to 17th January, 1878.

From 1879 until 1887, Mr. Blake was the recognised leader of the Liberal Party in Canada. He then resigned his leadership, but retained his seat in the Dominion Parliament until 1891. In that year



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VALE OF OVOCA, CO. WICKLOW.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

he announced his retirement from Canadian politics, owing to the political attitude of his party. Afterwards he became connected with Irish politics, and at the request of the Irish Party, he contested South Longford as a Home Ruler in 1892, and was successful. He has, since becoming member for that constituency, represented it ably and faithfully, and was accordingly re-elected in 1895.

It will at once appear, that Mr. Blake's career in Canada was most remarkable, and that he was not necessitated to enter Irish politics to establish his reputation. The various offices of distinction which he filled during the comparatively brief space of a quarter of a century in the public life of Canada, will, we think, go to show that honours and dignities have come to him in such quick succession, that there

is hardly parallel in the history of any statesman in any country. Since joining the Irish Party he has shown many of the characteristics which have made him eminent at home, but it is almost impossible to induce him to take a prominent part. He spoke at the Irish Race Convention, and delivered very remarkable speeches. The audience was perfectly delighted, and carried away with his beautiful diction, his accomplished manner, and forcible reasoning. His resolution as to the allocation of the Party funds last January displayed his great statesmanship, while his letter addressed to the Freeman's Journal, bearing the date 28th January, 1897, and written from the House of Commons, in vindication of his cause, is about the most charmingly, but at the same time, forcibly worded production we have seen in the English language. But he will be best known in Irish history by his recent speech on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, delivered in the British House of Commons. It was, we believe, his masterpiece, and the formidable array of facts and figures, goes to show his financial ability, while the beautiful diction, clear and forcible, delivered with animation and power, has established his name as an orator for all time in the House.

We think, no better proof could be given of the sincerity of Mr. Blake in Irish politics, than the many sacrifices he has made in associating himself with the cause. As late as 1896, he was offered a Judgeship on the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council, which carries a salary of £6,000 yearly, but he at once declined the position, by reason of his pledge to the Irish Party. It is true he practises law, since resident in London, but the honour and emoluments are triffing as compared to what he would have attained had he remained n Canada, for he was generally regarded as the coming Premier. The great majority of the Irish people and race fully appreciate his services and his liberal pecuniary contributions, and earnestly hope he may long remain a leading member of the Irish Party, to guide by his great experience and counsel, as well as aid by his marked ability, the cause which they hold so sacred.



JUSTIN McCARTHY, M.P.

THE qualities that go to make a great statesman and a general litterateur, are seldom found united in the same individual. Yet, both qualities are combined in Mr. Justin McCarthy, the present M.P. for North Longford. A career so successful must necessarily be of interest to Irishmen, who are proud of their distinguished countryman. Though no longer leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, Mr. McCarthy stil! continues one of the members, and ably assists by his counsel and experience to further the cause of Ireland. It is in his connection with the Irish Race Convention mainly, that we have to deal with him, and while treating of him in this relation, we give at the same time a few of the leading facts of a very interesting and eventful career.



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BLARNEY CASTLE, CO. CORK.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

Mr. Justin McCarthy was born at Cork, 22nd November, 1832. He is spoken of as a very clever and precocious boy, with a decided tendency to literature. This faculty seems to have been inherited, his father being a distinguished Latin and Greek scholar, and a man of great intellectual and literary tastes. He started the Cork Magazine, and to this periodical the young litterateur contributed

the first article of his that appeared in print. Mr. McCarthy, however, did not intend to pursue literature as a profession, his great ambition being to become a barrister, but owing to the disabilities under which Catholics laboured as to University education in Ireland, his desire could not be gratified. He then turned his attention to Press work, and became a reporter on the Cork Examiner, under the editorship of John Francis Maguire. In 1852, he left Ireland, and became a reporter on a Liverpool paper, where he shortly married Miss Charlotte Allman. The union was an ideally happy one, and was through the early struggles of life, a source of the greatest joy and consolation to Of the union were born a son and daughter, in their modest home at Liverpool, and these were the only children of the The son is known to the world as Mr. Justin Huntly McCarthy, the novelist, and the daughter is Miss Charlotte McCarthy, her father's companion and housekeeper. Miss McCarthy became an art student at the Slade School. The death of Mrs. McCarthy has been a severe blow to him.

In 1860, he entered the Reporters' Gallery of the House of Commons in the interest of the Morning Star, of which paper he became chief editor in 1864. Four years later he resigned the position, and started for the United States, travelling there for nearly three years, and visiting thirty-five States. He has since, several times re-visited America as a lecturer, and speaks in the highest terms of American institutions, and of the kindness and welcome that greeted him on his tour. Though Mr. McCarthy attained the highest position that it is possible to attain in Irish politics, that of Sessional Chairman of the Party, we believe he will be best known to generations to come as the litterateur, rather than the politician. He has contributed to most of the leading reviews of the Un'ted States, as well as of the United Kingdom, and is the author of the novels, "The Waterdale Neighbours," which appeared in 1867; "My Enemy's Daughter," in 1869; "Lady Judith," 1871; "A Fair Saxon," 1873; "Linley Rochford," 1874; "Dear Lady Disdain," 1875; "Miss Misanthrope," 1877; "Donna Quixote," 1879; "The Comet of a Season," 1881; "Maid of Athens," 1883, and "Camiola," 1885. In collaboration with Mrs. Campbell-Praed, he has written three remarkable novels, "The Right Honourable," 1886; "The Red Rose," 1887; and "The Ladies' Gallery," in 1888. As late as 1893, he published two excellent novels, entitled, "The Dictator," and "Red Diamonds." But among his best and most enduring works must be mentioned "A History of Our Own Times," in several volumes, covering the period from the accession of Queen Victoria to the present time. The completion of the last volume nearly cost the distinguished author his life, but it is gratifying to learn that he is now fully recovered, and

enabled to pursue his literary and Parliamentary avocations as usual. But we have omitted his "Con Amore," his "Prohibitory Legislation in the United States," his "History of the Four Georges," his "Epoch of Reform," his "Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria," and his "Pope Leo XIII," all very excellent works, and sufficient to establish his name in literature.

Notwithstanding his great labours in literature, Mr. McCarthy has been able to devote himself to the service of his country. His family had been always connected with the Nationalist cause, and he considered it his duty, as an Irishman, to use whatever influence he had acquired through his long residence in England, and his literary standing, in the interests of his native country, which has always been so dear to him. He was accordingly elected to Parliament for County Longford, in March, 1879, becoming a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, of which he was afterwards Vice-Chairman, and on the rejection of Mr. Parnell, Chairman. He resigned the Chairmanship in 1806, and was succeeded by Mr. John Dillon, the present Chairman. He was re-elected for Longford in 1880. In 1885 he contested Derry, but was defeated, and was at once elected for Longford. He again contested Derry in 1886, but was defeated by a majority of three. At the same time he was returned for Longford, unopposed. The narrow majority gave rise to grave suspicion, and on petition he regained the seat, for which he elected to sit.

Mr. McCarthy attended at the Irish Race Convention, and delivered a speech mild but convincing. As every true Irishman, he longed for the union of parties, so that all should work together harmoniously for the welfare of Ireland. By reason of his distinguished position, a great deal of interest was centred in his speech and personality. Though not an orator, in the Irish sense, his style and reasoning are irresistible, and ever command attention and respect in the House of Commons. He had also on that memorable occasion the privilege of moving the Bishop of Raphoe to the chair. A corresponding distinction was accorded him on the re-election of Mr. John Dillon, 19th January, 1897, as Sessional Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Mr. McCarthy is now nearly half a century resident in England more than thirty years of which have been spent in the capital. His charming home is at Eaton Terrace, in the busy West End, where he lives and thrives on literature, quite forgetful of the ceaseless hurry and bustle around him. It is stated he is now engaged on a life of Mr. Gladstone. He is an affectionate father, an amiable friend, and a cultured gentleman. Though so many years absent from his native country, he never ceases to take an interest in its welfare, and Irishmen have reason to be grateful and proud of his distinguished services.

MICHAEL DAVITT, M.P.

VERY few have had so remarkable a career as Mr. Michael Davitt, the present M.P. for South Mayo. He was born in the village of Straide, County Mayo, 25th March, 1846, his parents being of the farming class, and when the subject of our sketch was but five years old, his father was evicted from the farm on which they lived, and being obliged to seek subsistence elsewhere, r a to Lancashire, England. Here he was employed in a cotton , and at the age of eleven, lost his right arm through a machin dent. He then went to school at Haslingden, and when fifteen obtained work in a printing office, where he remained for seven years. In 1866 he joined the Fenian Brotherhood, and was arrested, tried in London in 1870, and sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. He underwent seven and a half years' imprisonment, mostly in Dartmoor Convict Prison, and was then released on ticket-of-leave. On this occasion, in company with the other Fenian prisoners, who had been liberated, he was tendered a public reception by the people of Dublin. Early in 1879 he started the land agitation in his native county Mayo, and in October of the same year, in conjunction with Mr. Parnell mainly, he started the Land League. Next month he was arrested and tried for a seditious speech, but the prosecution was abandoned. In 1880 he visited America, and made a tour of the Northern States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the object of establishing branches of the Land League in America. Returning to Ireland he was arrested in 1881, and incarcerated in Portland Convict Prison, from which, having undergone 15 months' imprisonment, he was released on ticket-of-leave. The date of his release was the 6th May, 1882, and on that day occurred the notorious Phœnix Park murders, when Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke were assassinated. It may be mentioned that in conjunction with Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon he immediately issued a manifesto condemning the murder. He visited America subsequently, and on his return persuaded Mr. Parnell to summon a National Convention in Dublin in order to revive the Land League movement. This was the origin of the National League. In February, 1883, he was again prosecuted for a speech against landlordism, and on refusing to give bail to keep the peace, was confined for four months in Richmond Bridewell, Dublin.

Even while in Pertland Prison, he was returned as M.P. for Meath, but was disqualified by a vote of the House of Commons. His ticket-of-leave expired in 1885, and he was, therefore, eligible for a seat in the Trouse. He was invited by several constituencies to become a candidate, but refused owing to his objection to take the oath

of allegiance. In 1886 he married Mary, the accomplished daughter of John Yore, St. Joseph, Michigan, U.S.A. He unsuccessfully contested Waterford city in 1891, but was elected for North Meath, 1892. Being unseated on petition, he was returned unopposed for North-East Cork, the same year. He resigned his seat in 1893,

owing to bankruptcy proceedings arising out of North Meath election petition. While travelling in Australia, he was returned unopposed for East Kerry and South Mayo, but elected to sit for the latter.



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SEVEN CHURCHES, GLENDALOUGH. [W. Lawrence, Dublin

Mr. Davitt altogether underwent a period of over nine years' imprisonment for his connection with Irish politics. Usually he is thought to be rather lax in his views on the land question, and is charged with Socialistic tendencies. He is, however, a clear, astute and determined statesman, and is, we believe, greatly dreaded by the British Government. But his ability must be recognised, and his able defence of the Land League in 1889 before the Times Parnell Commission for five days, elicited unbounded praise from all sides, even from the presiding judge. Mr. Davitt is not only a politician, but he is a litterateur. In 1884 he published "Leaves from a Prison Diary," and "Defence of the Land League," in 1891. He started the Labour World in 1890, a paper which was not successful. Moreover he contributes articles to the leading reviews and newspapers of the United Kingdom. We give a specimen of Mr. Davitt's style. Writing to the Freeman's Journal on the funds of the Irisa Party, a burning question, towards the close of last year and the beginning of the present, he stated, "So far back as April, 1896, a full statement of the financial position of the Irish Party was read out at a meeting of the Party in Committee Room 15 especially summoned for that purpose. Several of Mr. Healy's friends were present. The only moneys in the hands of the treasurers at that date amounted to about £400, a sum which remained over from the General Election Fund of the previous year. Out of this sum £,300 was voted to Mr. Thomas Curran, M.P., as final payment of the principal and interest of a loan made by him to the Irish Party during the General Election of 1892. The balance of this £400 was dealt with on Tresday week at the monthly meeting of the Party. One word more about this £,400. It was in main part a balance remaining from the moneys subscribed by the friends of the Irish Party with which to fight the General Election of 1895. Not a single one of Mr. Healy's friends, lay or clerical, subscribed a cent of these moneys. I contributed upwards of $f_{z,000}$ out of the slender proceeds of a not very successful lecture tour in Australia to that General Election Fund, and succeeded in raising £1,000 more by an appeal to the friends of Ireland at the Antipodes. The first man to apply for and receive his election expenses from this money so contributed was Mr. T. M. Healy. Another sum of £100 was given out of it to the Nationalists of Derry, who returned Mr. Vesey Knox for that city." This quotation will give an idea of Mr. Davitt's style in writing, and in speaking he is quite as clear and relevant. He speaks with great effect in the House of Commons, and is utterly a stranger to fear. At the Irish Race Convention there was the greatest anxiety to hear Mr. Davitt. He spoke but briefly, and appeared to have learned of this general anxiety or curiosity as he might be inclined to term it. Mr. Davitt means work, and has no sympathy with the curious. He hates humbug. and goes heart and soul into the course upon which he has decided. It is true he has made mistakes, and his ideas in some things are perhaps too advanced, but it may be fairly taken that Ireland has no more earnest and determined friend than Michael Davitt. His home is there, and so is his heart.



VERY REV. PATRICK CANON LYNSKEY.

CANON LYNSKEY is son of the late Thaddeus Lynskey, of Ashgrove, Tuam, and was born in 1845. At the early age of twelve he was sent to the Diocesan College of St. Jarlath's, Tuam, where he commenced his ecclesiastical training. Even at that tender age, he gave abundant evidence of the ability and capacity for work, which, blended together, have become so distinguishing a characteristic of him in his maturer years; and in September, 1862, after a successful preliminary examination at Castleknock, he joined the rhetoric class in the Irish College, Paris. Here his course was a distinguished one-in rhetoric and philosophy in particular. In the early years of his theological studies, his talents and application were rewarded by securing him a high place in his different classes at the end of each academic year. In 1866 he left Paris to complete his theological training at the great National College of Maynooth. Here, too, he passed through his course with distinction and success; and his own aspirations, and the fond dream of his parents, were realized, when, in 1868, he was raised to the priesthood by the late John of Tuam.

In the several parishes where he has ministered, even as curate, he has left behind him enduring memorials, not only of his zeal and untiring energy in the interests of religion and education, but also of his successful efforts to improve the social condition of the people. While he had been yet scarcely a year on the mission in the important town of Ballyhaunis, he undertook to enlarge and renovate the parish church, which at that time served the purpose of a place of worship to the congregations of two parishes, and which fell very far short, indeed, of affording them sufficient accommodation. He quickly found means that enabled him to considerably enlarge the church and make it worthy of the people's faith and devotion. After a few years we find Father Lynskey transferred to Westport, the most important mission, perhaps, in the Archdiocese. Here, indeed, he found an ample field for the exercise of his marked energy and ability, and his work was most successful. No more truthful picture can, perhaps, be given of his personality than that conveyed in the words of the distinguished American, James Redpath, who was a well-known friend of Ireland some fifteen years ago. In a speech at a banquet given in his honour in America, after his return from Ireland, he pays the following tribut to Father Lynskey:-

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[&]quot;I saw a scene in Ireland," he said in the course of his speech, "that lingers lovingly in my memory. It was at Westport, in the West of Ireland, at a meeting of a local committee of the Duchess of Marl-

borough's fund for the relief of distress in 1880. An Irish Lord was the chairman, and not a bad man either—for a Lord: but every Lord has the spirit of an upstart, and this Lord at times was insolent to his betters and arrogant to his equals. Without consulting his associates on the committee, he administered an unfeeling rebuke to a number of the starving peasants who were impatiently clamouring for food, and told them in a dictatorial tone 'That although Her Grace might relieve them, they had no right to expect it; that the funds were hers, not theirs; that the noble lady was under no obligation to serve them.'" And he goes on to say—"I sat, a heretic beside a priest, a Republican beside a Lord; and I thought, with no little inward indignation,



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[W. Lawrence, Dublin

that I was the only person in the room—and I, a stranger—whose heart throbbed with pity for the poor stricken people. But, as I looked around the room, I saw a sudden flash in the priest's eye, that told of a power before which the pride of ancestral rank is but as grass before a prairie fire.

"'I beg your Lordship's pardon!' said Father Lynskey, with a sublime haughtiness; 'I do not agree with you. The money does not belong to Her Grace. She holds the money in trust only. We have a right to it,

It belongs to the poor!'

"The Lord was cowed. No man but Father Lynskey, at that table, would have dared to talk in that style to a Lord. More than eighteen centuries have passed since a Roman Judge said to a

Missionary of the Cross:—'Almost thou persuadest me to become a Christian.' I do not believe there has lived a man since then, who felt more profoundly than I did at that moment, the spirit that prompted that immortal declaration. As long as Father Lynskey was in that room, I think I was a loyal son of the Catholic Church."

Father Lynskey was yet quite young when he was promoted by His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. MacEvilly, from Westport to the responsibility of Parish Priest of Clifden and Vicar Forane of that important Deanery; and the Archbishop, ever anxious to mark his appreciation of distinguished services in the past of any of his priests, has since raised him to the dignity of Canon. It is now some thirteen years since his advent to Clifden, and to-day are to be found, thickly strewn throughout the extensive parish, monuments of his unremitting toil for and fatherly care of his people.

In every political movement during his time for the regeneration of the country, he has filled a prominent place. Level-headed and capable, his counsel and guidance were ever at the disposal of his people, and he has rendered incalculable benefit to them during all the stormy years, since the inception of the agrarian and Home Rule agitations; and it was unquestionably owing to his prudence, not less than to his masterful hold of the people, that faction was unable to find a foothold in Connemare after the lamentable fall of Parnell. The name of such an ecclesiastic should necessarily find a prominent place on the bead-roll of those who helped to make the great Convention of the Irish Race so marked a success. Misguided men, carried away by the spirit of faction and prejudice, may still sneer at that great assembly and strive to underrate its importance, but every day its good effects are becoming more apparent; the country is fast beginning to realize the wisdom of its counsels, and is waking up to the necessity of adopting the constitutional programme it mapped out.



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DR. ROBERT AMBROSE.

Dr. Ambrose, who seconded the resolution at the great Convention, that honorary secretaries be appointed, was born in Newcastle West, County Limerick, 1855, son of Dr. D. Ambrose. He was educated



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, DUBLIN.

at the Christian Brothers' School in his native town, and later at a classical school in Limerick, whence he passed to Galway, and secured a scholarship. He is a B.A. of the Queen's University, Ireland, and L.R.C.P., as well as L.R.C.S. Edinburgh. Having graduated in arts, his studies in medicine were mostly made in Dublin and Cork, and on becoming qualified, purchased a practice, as is customary, from the

late Dr. Blennerhasset Godfrey, and has since practised as physician in London, where he has become most distinguished in his profession. His great success may be inferred from the fact that he is Fellow of the Obstetrical Society of London, and member of the British Medical Association. Dr. Ambrose, although pressed with the work of his profession, nevertheiess interests himself on behalf of the Catholics and Radicals of the East End, London. He was elected by the Catholics (who are Irish) and Radicals a member of the Whitechapel Board of Guardians, and also a member of the Whitechapel Vestry, as well as member of the Whitechapel District Board of Works.

The doctor, by careful management, always finds ample time for his many engagements. But it must not be omitted, that notwithstanding his manifold pressing duties, a goodly portion of his time is devoted to the welfare of Ireland. He has been for some years, and is still M.P. for West Mayo, a constituency in which he takes the liveliest interest. Perhaps, he is best known by the concern which he ever manifests in the inhabitants of the congested districts in Ireland, and his desire to have their holdings enlarged. His introduction of a Bill for conferring compulsory purchase power on the Congested Districts Board, gave him considerable prominence. Among his colleagues he is revered and esteemed for his gentlemanliness, his lack of pretension, and his genuine Irish patriotism.



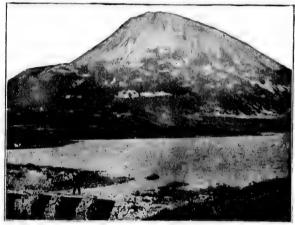
ST. AUDOEN'S ARCH, DUBLIN.

REV. JAMES McFADDEN, GWEEDORE.

WITHIN the last few years, the Rev. James McFadden, Gweedore, has not been very active in politics. But his ideas have by no means changed on the Irish Home Rule question and the cause of the Irish tenantry, which cost him so many weary years of anxiety, and on account of which he suffered a term of imprisonment. Neither labour, anxiety, nor imprisonment could make him swerve from the path of duty and his devotion to his people, and if, for the time, his name is so little heard of, his sympathies in the good old cause are as keen

as in days gone by.

His part at the Irish Race Convention was rather a sinecure, but bis sweet articulation of the prayers at the opening in the grand old Gaelic tongue, was universally admired. Father McFadden was born in the parish of Mevagh, County Donegal, Ireland, in the year 1844. He was pupil at the only school then in that district, and after a preliminary English education, passed to the High School at Letterkenny, whence he went to Maynooth, and having completed an extensive course, was ordained priest in 1869. His first curacy was Lettermacaward and Upper Templecrone. Here is the neat little town of Dungloe, an ! here Father McFadden spent the best, and perhaps the happiest years of his life. On the translation of Monsignor McFadden to Donegal, the Rev. James McFadden was appointed parish priest of Gweedore, where he still remains, and whence his name was brought prominently before the public. He was particularly noted for the part taken by him in the Olphert and Hill Estate. He gives a very graphic and interesting account of this land war, and his own connection therewith, in a book written by himself, and which has had a very extensive sale. His object in producing the work was certainly not to vindicate his own character, but that the public, and especially the British public, might be made familiar with the facts, as also the disabilities of the Irish tenantry. But perhaps the most prominent occasion in his life, was that on which-to the shame of English law-he was arraigned in connection with the death of Inspector Martin. This officer of constabulary, it will be remembered, endeavoured to effect his arrest immediately after Sunday devotions, and when the rev. gentleman was passing from the church to the parochial residence. A proceeding so foolhardy incensed the peasantry, who immediately fell upon him, and he was killed in the melee. How Father McFadden could have been indicted in the matter seems unaccountable. It is hardly necessary to add that after a series of law comedies, in the shape of trials, he was liberated without spot or blemish. There is



ERRIGAL, CO. DONEGAL.

(W. Lawrence, Dublin

a very interesting account of the proceedings in a work entitled, "Scenery and Antiquities of North-West Donegal," a local publication. Father McFadden spoke at the Annual Convention of the Irish National League of Great Britain, held in the Leinster Hall, after the Irish Race Convention. He is a forcible and eloquent speaker, and his loud ringing voice was heard to great advantage throughout the entire hall. On the occasion of the receptions given to the foreign delegates in Ulster, notably at Letterkenny, he spoke at considerable length, and his speech was greatly admired. The following is a short quotation, but gives some idea of its quality: "I am pleased and delighted to find that here in Letterkenny the delegates received a reception equally great in intensity to that which they have already received in Belfast. I congratulate Letterkenny and Don-gal on your conduct on this occasion. Why shouldn't you give a warm reception to the delegates from America? The Bishop has anticipated me in his opening words, but they are worth repeating, 'Who built our schools, who built our churches, and who built our cathedrals? Are they not the American-Irish? Who sent money to defend those who were marked down to be the victims of English misgovernment in Ireland? Are they not the Irish-American? Who assisted us in all our difficulties, when famine stalked the land, when starvation threatened the lives of our people, and when they were thrown on the

roadside? The American-Irish. As delegates and representatives of the Irish rece they came to the monster Convention which has so lately assembled in Dublin. It is on account of this circumstance we owe them a special welcome, and hill and valley and mountain side resound the notes of cead mile failte." He is now in America, collecting for the Letterkenny cathedral, where his mission is very successful. Many of those who had been familiar for years with his name, were glad of the opportunity of seeing face to face, and occasionally hearing the well-known parish priest of Gweedore.



RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR MICHAEL KELLY, IRISH COLLEGE, ROME.

It may be mentioned that Monsignor Kelly has not at any time taken a very prominent part in Irish politics. But it is well known he is heartily interested in any movement, having for its object the welfare of the Irish people. It was his singular privilege, however, to convey to the Irish Race Convention, the most gracious message of the Holy Father, in which he expressed his deepest concern for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Irish, and prayed for the end of dissensions,



From photo by]

LISMORE_CASTLE, CO. WATERFORD.;

fW. Lawrence, Dublin

The distinguished Rector of the Irish College, Rome, was born at Waterford, on 14th February, 1850. He studied classics in his native place, and came to Rome at an early age, where he was student of the Irish College, attending at the world-famed Propaganda College, for lectures. Here he read a very distinguished course. On attaining the canonical age, he was ordained priest, and returned to his native diocese. He very soon joined a society of priests at Enniscorthy, whose special object is the giving of retreats to the clergy, and to religious communities. During his connection with this Order, he attained great eminence as a

preacher, and was noted for his piety and zeal. In 1891 he was chosen to succeed the Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, Archbishop of Ephesus, as Rector of the Irish College, Rome, an office which he still fills, and discharges with remarkable efficiency.

The venerable institution, of which he is now head, was erected A.D. 1626, through the efforts of the venerated Luke Wadding, O.S.F., and also the aid of Cardinal Ludovisi, Protector of the Kingdom of Ireland. Its object was the education of Irish ecclesiastical students. How well it has fulfilled its end, may be gathered from the fact that it has given to the Church some of the most eminent names in her history. Among those who have been connected with the College, either as students or superiors, are the historic names of the Most Rev. and Venerable Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, whose blood was shed for his faith and convictions; the celebrated Father Prout, Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop Croke, Cardinal Moran, and Archbishop Kirby. This is a selection of which any college might well feel proud. We omit to mention the hundreds of young levites who have been educated within its walls, some of whom have become bishops, and all with rare exceptions, zealous and efficient priests. The College structurally is not very imposing, being but capable of accommodating about seventy students. They attend the lectures of the Propaganda College, so that there is little educational work in the Irish College. At the close of the academic year, about the 1st August, they leave for their country residence on the hills overlooking classic Tivoli, some eighteen miles from Rome, where they remain about two months. The students of the Irish College are seldom permitted to return to their respective homes during their collegiate course, except necessitated by illness. This is generally the case with all the Roman colleges.

Over this venerable institution, Monsignor Kelly presides, and is a worthy successor of the distinguished line of Rectors that have preceded him. The College continues to prosper, and is yearly sending forth young levites, who do honour to their Alma Mater, as well as the country of their birth. Monsignor Kelly's name has been more than once mentioned in connection with Irish Sees; and in the midst of his many and responsible duties, though far removed, he never ceases to take a deep interest in the well-being and prosperity of his native land.





From photo by] ECCLESIASTICAL REMAINS, ROCK OF CASHEL. [W. Lawrence, Dublin

REV. FRANK RYAN, TORONTO, CANADA.

THE Rev. Frank Ryan took a leading part in the Irish Race Convention as representative of His Grace the Archbishop of Toronto. He read a letter from Archbishop Walsh at the opening session of the Convention, and in a brief, eloquent, and incisive speech, seconded the motion of Mr. Alfred Webb on the introduction of the resolutions of the Convention. At the conclusion, Father Ryan seized the opportunity of studying truly and thoroughly the Irish situation. He began with personal and lengthened interviews with the leading men of the various parties in Dublin, and he continued these interviews from Dublin to Galway, and from Belfast to Cork. He delivered public addresses in the leading cities of the North, West and South of Ireland, and notably in Clonmel and Cork, speeches that have become historic, going on a mission of peace and unity throughout the length and breadth of the land. Father Ryan, like the other delegates from abroad, insisted on the following points: (1) That he came not to any man, or any party, but to the Irish people, and that he came as a duly accredited representative of the Irish people of Canada; (2) that he found the Irish people at home fully represented at the Convention; (3) that the Convention could effect its purpose only through the

properly elected and duly constituted representatives of the people of Ireland; and (4) that these representatives were only the party whose duly elected and recognised Chairman was Mr. John Dillon, or whosever should be elected by the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

His opinions and arguments are entitled to weighty consideration, not only because he was the trusted and accredited representative of the Archbishop and people of Toronto, but also because of his personal history, marked ability, wide experience, and present dis-

tinguished position.

Father Frank Ryan was born in 1844 in Newfoundland, of Irish Catholic parents, descendants of two well-known and distinguished families, the Ryans and the Quinlans, of the Golden Vale, County Tipperary. Having received the rudiments of a classical education in his native land, from an eminent graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Mr. Alexander O'Donovan, young Ryan came to Ireland, where he continued his studies in literature, philosophy, and theology at All Hallows' College, Dublin, under the illustrious Dr. Conroy, afterwards Apostolic Delegate to Canada. From Ireland he went to France and England to complete his studies, and after a lengthened and distinguished career, was ordained priest in 1874. Soon after his ordination, Father Ryan went to America, and was professing philosophy at Fordham College, New York, when Dr. Confuy was appointed delegate to Canada and Newfoundland. Waving always had a high and an affectionate esteem for this form asked Father Ryan to accompany him as his secretary and confidential as une and almost tragic death of the Apostof the e Most esteemed friend of Dr. Commo Power. of St. John's, N.F., Father Ryal remained in Canada to look after His Excellency's business affairs, wind up the delegation, and report to Rome. For some years Father Ryan remained at Montreal as missionary and English preacher at the famous church of the Gesu. From Montreal he went to the United States, where he was successively pastor of the celebrated Church of the Holy Family Chicago, the largest parish in the world, it is said, and of the beautifu-Church of St. Ignatius, Baltimore. During these years h preached in the leading churches, and gave missions in the principal cities of the United States and Canada, and has the honour of intimate personal friendship with the clergy and hierarchy of both these countries. For the past six years Father Ryan has been stationed in Toronto, as rector of St. Michael's Cathedral. He is the trusted friend of Archbishop Walsh, and is esteemed and loved by all classes of the people. What Toronto thinks of him, and of the part

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SPEAKERS. 41

he took in the Irish Race Convention was eloquently told in the grand public reception given in Toronto after his return; and especially in the generous tribute of praise tendered him by his illustrious Archbishop, whom he had so ably and eloquently and wisely represented. He received most cordial greetings from all his old friends in Ireland, especially from the Jesuit Fathers, for whom he continues to cherish the veneration, esteem, and love, formed in the years of his early training. He hopes that when he next visits the old land he will have less concern with politics and politicians, and more time to give to his friends, whose kindness he bears in grateful remembrance.



G. P. O., DUBLIN, FROM NELSON'S PILLAR.



From photo by

UPPER LAKE, KILLARNEY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

DAVID SHEEHY, M.P.

To the efforts of Mr. David Sheehy, M.P., the success of the Irish Race Convention is due in no small degree. Speaking of his labours in this connection, a Beliast Nationalist paper said: "His patience and industry during the past couple of trying weeks have been mar, ellous. Every one who has come in contact with him during the period mentioned is most warm in praise of the manner in which he has discharged very difficult duties. He has been, however, assisted by Mr. Muldoon, of the Federation Office." The labour of that trying period is only known to Mr. Sheehy himself, and those who were more or less closely associated with him. Throughout the sessions of the three days, he was never absent, but watched the progress of the Convention with earnestness, and later with an amount of evident satisfaction. Like most of the members of the Irish Party, he preferred to leave the speaking on that occasion to others, and therefore acting as honorary secretary, he contented himself with reading the letter of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, New York, addressed to the Convention. But as one who has laboured so earnestly in the Irish cause, and to whom the happy outcome of the Irish Race Convention is in a good measure due, Mr. Sheehy deserves an honoured place in its history.

Mr. David Sheehy, Secretary of the Irish National Federation, was born in 1844, son of Richard Sheehy, Broadford, County Limerick. He was educated at the Irish College, Paris, but becoming engrossed in the political questions of the hour, he, in course of time, took to politics, and became member for South Galway, an honour which he has held since 1885. He became involved considerably in the Irish agrarian question, and has been the victim of coercion. His lecture to the Belfast Young Ireland Society, during the session 1896-97, with the title "Combating Coercion," was most interesting and was greatly appreciated. Thou, arrying on an extensive business in Mallow, County Cork, he farms as well, and is thus capable from personal experience of dealing with the land question.

For a public man he is somewhat retiring, and very much prefers that others should take the place of prominence. He is thoroughly educated, gentlemanly and accomplished, and when the necessity arises is capable of displaying an energy and pluck that are astonishing. As a speaker he is always appreciated, and his duties as Secretary of the Irish National Federation have been well and faithfully performed. Among his colleagues he is most popular, and is beloved for his genial manner and his heartfelt interest in his country's cause. In this brief sketch we have merely touched upon the leading features of his career, and in no wise regard it as a biography. We could much like to treat of Mr. Sheehy at great length, if circumstances permitted, and record the sacrifices for Ireland that have made him prematurely old. But we are confident that he shuns publicity, and prefers very much to do good by stealth when his country is concerned. We wish him many years to labour as earnestly and as assiduously in



the cause of Ireland as he has done in the past.

PARNELL'S GRAVE AND O'CONNELL TOWER, GLASNEVIN, DUBLIN,

THOMAS SEXTON, EX-M.P.

ONE of the most distinguished of living Irishmen, is Mr. Thomas Sexton, lately M.P. for North Kerry, and now Chairman of the Freeman's Journal Co. In the present sketch, it is not intended to give a full account of the gifted statesman and accomplished orator, of whom Ireland is, and may well feel proud. Mr. Sexton did not attend the Irish Race Convention. He had then ceased to be a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and for this reason, among others, he refused to accept any representative capacity on the oc



From photo by]

LOUGH GILL, CO. SLIGO.

IW. Lawrence, Dublin

casion. But even if he did not take part in the Convention, he was in great request, particularly with the foreign delegates, who had heard and read so much of him, and whenever his name was mentioned the great hall rang with applause.

Mr. Thomas Sexton was born in Waterford, 1848, and is a son of the late Mr. J. Sexton. He was M.P. for County Sligo, 1880-85; for South Sligo, 1885-86; for West Belfast, 1886-92. He was elected M.P. for North Kerry in 1892. He has also been High Sheriff of Dublin in 1887, and Lord Mayor of Dublin, 1888-89. Mr. Sexton is an accomplished speaker, and when he rises in the House

of Commons, he is always sure of a patient hearing. He has physically a fine appearance, with a voice pleasing and articulate, and well adapted for speaking. His gesture is very moderate, and his speech, which is always logical and well reasoned, appeals more to the convictions than to the feelings. In dealing with figures, Mr. Sexton displays an aptitude that is remarkable, and, therefore, it is claimed, his services would have been invaluable in treating of the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland. There is, however, no likelihood of Mr. Sexton's return to the Irish Party for some considerable time to come. On the retirement of Mr. Justin McCarthy from the Chairmanship, he was unanimously selected for the honour, but he felt constrained to decline, in view of the dissensions in the Party, which were not likely to have a speedy termination. We believe we are justified in stating that that dignity awaits him any time he returns to Parliament, and submits to its acceptance. Various bodies in Ireland have called upon him to resume his Parliamentary duties, but he has, up to the present, persistently refused. In consequence, he has come in for the usual share of misrepresentation; however, it may be presumed, that with such great intelligence and experience as he admittedly possesses, he fully understands what he is doing. We give this brief and inadequate sketch of one of Ireland's most gifted sons, in the hope that it may interest those who know Mr. Sexton only as a great orator in the House of Commons, and a brilliant member of the Irish Party; and that some one better suited for the task, will treat at much greater length, not only of him as a public man, but of his charming manners in private life, and his interesting and agreeable companionship.



EAST PIER, KINGSTOWN, DUBLIN.

THOMAS HUNT, VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA.

Mr. Thomas Hunt, when a boy of 15 years of age, left his native place, Cappawhite, Tipperary, and bade farewell to the shores of Ireland, in May, 1858. He reached his destination, Victoria, Australia, with his relatives in June, 1858. His parents settled at Kilmore, a township some 37 miles north of the metropolis, and Mr. Hunt was offered the opportunity of going into a banking firm, in which the prospects of speedy advancement were, at that time, considerable. But he elected instead to join the printing trade, and so began his career, by becoming apprenticed in the office of the *Kilmore*



From photo by]

BLACKWATER, KENMARE.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

Examiner, of which paper his brother-in-law was part proprietor. In 1865, he started the Kilmore Free Press newspaper, and some three years later he acquired the goodwill and copyright of the Examiner, the journal upon which he had served his apprenticeship, and which is now incorporated with the Free Press. In 1874, Mr. Hunt commenced his political career, being elected a member of the Legislative Assembly to represent Kilmore, to which district was added, in 1877, the large electorate of the County of Anglesey, and he continued to represent Kilmore and Anglesey un-

He proved himself a thorough politician, and during his period of representation was ever earnest in inducing settlement upon the soil, and in assisting to develop the mining industry, in which he took a strong practical interest. The wants of his constituents were promptly and faithfully attended to, and he secured the construction of railways throughout his electorate. It is noteworthy that the poorest in his electorate could approach him on all matters in which he could benefit them with as much confidence as if they were the wealthiest in the Colony; and even to the present time a great many of his old friends avail themselves of his services in securing the attention of the Victorian Department to their requirements. Thoroughly energetic even whilst busy with his parliamentary duties, he established many provincial journals, being managing proprietor of no less than four at one time. Another pleasing trait of his character is his hospitality to visitors at his residence, "Melrose Hall," which is picturesquely situated on a beautiful eminence a mile south of Kilmore township. Though a Liberal in politics, Mr. Hunt always adopted the role of an independent member, and on this account, on more than one occasion, declined Cabinet honours.

A meeting was held in Melbourne to appoint a delegate to attend the Irish Race Convention at Dublin, in September, 1896. Being a member of the Hibernian Society from its inception, Mr. Hunt was chosen by the Kilmore Branch of that body to represent them. Over 200 Victorian delegates assembled at the Hibernian Hall, in the metropolis, to decide who should represent the Colony at the Convention in Dublin, and the result of their deliberations was that he who had proved himself one of the truest Irishmen in the Colony was practically unanimously chosen. He regarded his appointment as one of the greatest honours that could be conf rred upon him, and felt, that as the time had come when he might be able to assist in any way to strike a blow for Home Rule and the amelioration of the condition of his native country, he would not, no matter at what personal inconvenience, shirk the responsibility. The confidence thus shown in Mr. Hunt by the Irishmen of Victoria, is sufficient evidence of the true heart that beats in him for the land of his birth; and he has on many occasions given practical illustration of that deep interest which he feels for the welfare of Ireland. When the Messrs. Redmond visited Australia, a number of years ago, so intense was public feeling against their policy, that he was the only Catholic member of Parliament, who went on the platform to espouse the cause of Erin, notwithstanding the warnings and advices that he received to the contrary. But, pleasing to relate, for this noble act, he did not suffer in the public estimation, tecause the people recognised his independence and honesty of Mr. Hunt, through the medium of the Press, and otherwise, never wearied of putting the Home Rule cause before the people in its proper light. He attended the Irish Race Convention in Dublin, and conveyed to the great gathering there the wishes and sympathy of the people whom he represented, speaking on behalf of Victoria and South Australia, having been requested by the people of that Colony also to represent them; and the one strong desire of his heart is to see a United Ireland, blessed with the right of local self-government. On Thursday evening, the 5th November, 1896, a public meeting was held in the Hibernian Hall, Melbourne, to hear a report of the work done at the Pan-Irish Convention, from the Victorian delegate, and welcome him back to the land of his adoption. Dr. O'Donnell, president of the Irish National League in Victoria, presided, and among those present was Sir Bryan O'Loghlen. It may be mentioned Mr. Hunt is still connected with the Victorian Press, and that strong efforts are being made to induce him to re-enter Parliament.



O'CONNELL MONUMENT, DUBLIN.

REV. DENIS O'CALLAGHAN, BOSTON.

REV. DENIS O'CALLAGHAN, pastor of St. Augustine's Church, South Boston, Mass., is one of the most able and eloquent priests in New England, while he has as well that cordiality of manner which wins the love of his own people and the respect of all. Father O'Callaghan was born in Ireland about fifty-four years ago, but when he was very young his parents emigrated to America and settled in Salem, Mass., where the subject of this sketch received his early education. Later, he entered St. Charles' College, near Baltimore. Maryland, and from



From photo by]

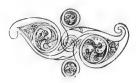
ROPE BRIDGE, CARRICK-A-REDE.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

thence went to St. Mary's Seminary, Mount St. Mary's, Maryland, where he completed his theological studies, being ordained priest by the late Archbishop Bayley, of Baltimore, June 29th, 1865. Coming immediately to Boston, Father O'Callaghan was for two years assistant priest of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, South Boston, at the end of which time the Catholic population had grown to such proportions as to demand the formation of another parish in that district. Therefore to Father O'Callaghan was deputed the task of organising and caring for the new parish, and he entered upon the work August 22nd, 1868. The only place of worship available for the new congregation was the little mortuary chapel of St. Augustine, which, for the

second time in its history, had to serve the purposes of a parish, until more suitable accommodation was provided. Father O'Callaghan has that happy faculty of winning the hearty co-operation of his people, because he believes in them and they in him, and it was not long before pastor and people set to work unitedly and enthusiastically to provide themselves with a parish church and property in every way creditable to them. This united effort crystallized in the purchase of the land on Dorchester Street, and the erection thereon of the magnificent church, costing over two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and which is one of the most attractive and beautiful in the State, constructed of brick, with granite trimmings, and in the Gothic style of architecture. This beautiful church was dedicated August 30th, 1874, and two years later being entirely out of debt, it entered the list of the very few consecrated churches in the city of Boston. In addition to this church, through the labours of Father O'Callaghan, the parish enjoys a beautiful parochial residence, and a splendid parish hall, the later built in 1888, at a cost of thirty-five thousand dollars. The untiring pastor, to crown his many other labours, has recently completed the erection of a magnificent parochial school, at a cost of one hundred and thirtyfive thousand dollars. This great work forms the glory of his priestly life. Within its walls are taught 850 children, under the kindly and watchful guidance of the Sisters of Notre Dame.

As a preacher, Father O'Callaghan's fame extends far beyond the Boston Archdiocese, and as such, he is in great demand whenever he can be spared from the duties of his parish. A zealous priest, a broadminded cultured gentleman, and a public spirited citizen, he is respected by all classes in South Boston, where he has lived and laboured with such distinguished success for more than a quarter of a century.



MOSES CORNWALL, KIMBERLEY, SOUTH AFRICA.

Among those in whom the greatest interest was centred at the great Convention in Dublin was Mr. Moses Cornwall, Kimberley, South Africa. Coming as he did, from that distant land, whose name is not very familiar in Irish homes, and which sounds to Irish ears more distant than in reality it is, his every word was listened to with rapt attention. Judging from Mr. Cornwall's manner, he lays no very ambitious claims to oratory, but he is clearly an ardent Irishman, and is proud of his birthright.



WHITWORTH BRIDGE AND FOUR COURTS, DUBLIN.

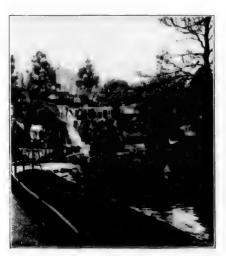
The subject of this sketch was born in Dublin city, 6th July, 1841. The Cornwalls came from England about the middle of the last century, and settled in County Meath, Ireland; his mother's unmarried name was D'Arcy, of the famed D'Arcys, of Wicklow and Wexford. Mr. Cornwall came to Cape Colony in 1859, and set to work in good earnest to make for himself an honoured name and place in the land of his adoption. How well he succeeded may be gathered from the fact that he is, and has been for many years, the most respected citizen of Kimberley. For some time he toiled on the diamond fields as a digger, and in due course entered into business. Twice

he was elected Mayor of Kimberley, and has been its representative in the House of Assembly for full five sessions. But with his success in far Africa, he has not become unmindful of the land of his birth. Although, he has but visited Ireland twice in thirty-eight years, including his recent visit to Dublin, he has never forgotten his native country, and a better type of Irishman it would be difficult to find. Twenty years ago he originated annual festivals in honour of St. Patrick, and presided over the festive gatherings for fifteen years. He has collected and sent home for National purposes, not less than He is Sheriff to the High Court of Griqualand West, Agent for the Union Royal Mail Steamship Navigation Company, and one of the most important Insurance Companies doing business in South Africa, and is a prominent member of the Borough Council. He is a member of the Kimberley Hospital Board, and also of the Public Library of Kiml erley. The office of Sheriff has been discharged by him faithfully for fifteen years, and he has been a Justice of the Peace for about the same space of time. Perhaps there is no better proof of the estimation in which Mr. Cornwall is held as a public man and spirited citizen than the address and presentation of which he was recipient on Monday, July 6th, 1891, the fiftiet's anniversary of his birthday. The address was signed by more than fifty prominent citizens. Commenting on the proceedings, the Diamond Fields Advertiser, of Tuesday 7th, 1891, says: "The honoured name of Cornwall was on everybody's lips at last night's gathering, and we join in the congratulations by hoping that Com in plenty will ever be his store, and that troops of friends, as well as the affection of a loving wife, and a splendid family of sons and daughters will prove the cope-stone to the Wall of his future career." The terms of the address were as subjoined:-

"To Moses Cornwall, Esq., J.P.

"Dear Sir,—We, the Irishmen and others resident on these Diamond Fields, beg to offer you our sincere and heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of your birthday. It gives us particular pleasure to do this, when we recollect that for twenty years past, ever since you have been in Kimberley, you have laboured zealously and conscientiously, and without consideration of your own personal benefit and advantage, for the weal of this community. As a representative of the Division in the Legislative Assembly, as a Member of the Municipal Council, Divisional Council, Hospital Board, Library Committee of Kimberley, and as Mayor, your integrity and honesty of purpose and solicitude for the well-being of these Fields, have been constant and enduring, and if, unlike some, you have not built up great wealth from doubtful sources, you laye

the proud consciousness that you have never stooped to meanness, that no stain or suspicion tarnishes your fair fame and reputation, and that you have carned the genuine esteem and regard of this community. In conclusion, we again tender you our hearty congratulations, and hope that your career may long be continued in the same honourable way as in the past; and that you may in future be blessed with every happiness, prosperity and contentment."



WATERFALL, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN.

HON. CHARLES HAMILTON BROMBY, NORTHERN TASMANIA.

CHARLES HAMILTON BROMBY born at Laurel Lodge, Cheltenham, 1843, delegate for Northern Tasmania, of which Colony he was formerly Attorney-General, is a graduate of the University of Oxford, and, we believe, the only delegate who is not of Irish extraction. He was called to the English Bar in 1867, and went to Tasmania in 1874. He was elected to represent Launceston, the capital of Northern Tasmania in the Tasmanian Parliament in 1876, and was made Attorney-General in the same year. For many years he had the principal practice in his profession at the Bar there, and was the first President of the Australian Hibernian Society in Tasmania. He was particularly active in advocating the formation of an Intercolonial Court of Appeal amongst the various Australasian Colonies, as a stepping stone to a confederation and complete autonomy of Australia.

It was while taking part in the government of Tasmania, where Home Rule has been long enjoyed, that he first realised the advantage of Home Rule to the Empire, as well as to the individual and independent country. This led him to a deeper study of the question, and especially with regard to Ireland, and so to the whole history of the relationship of Ireland to England. He has stated himself, that though his study was at first confined to English authorities, the result of his reading was to stir up within him, a sense of profound indignation and shame-indignation, that one country should have been so treated by another, and shame, that the country which had behaved in such a way to Ireland in the past was the land in which he had been born. He was not satisfied with sitting down and lamenting over the facts which he deplored. He determined to endeavour to do something to redress them. Believing that the attitude of most Englishmen towards Ireland at that time—(we are writing of fifteen years ago, and long before Home Rule had become a cry of the English Liberal Party)-was due to their ignorance of the history of Ireland, he entered upon a sort of lecturing crusade.

His first lecture called "The English in Ireland," was delivered in Tasmania, and met with such success that he determined to carry his crusade into the other Colonies. He proceeded first to New Zealand. Throughout the length and breadth of that country the people were aroused. Bishop Moran, of Dunedin, described the lecturer as "a man among men." The result was a ferment in the Colonial Press. The Irish papers were enthusiastic, some of the

more liberal Colonial papers were fair and eulogistic, but most were loud in their anathemas of one who could thus expose the conduct of his own country.

By the time Mr. Bromby reached Melbourne, the enemy was up in arms. The Town Hall, a very spacious building, had been taken for his first meeting. Frightened by the clamour of the Press, a meeting of the Town Council was held, and it was resolved that a breach of contract, with its consequent damages, was better than that the good citizens should hear the cry for justice, which was being sounded throughout the Colonies.

The effect of this conduct of the Municipal authorities upon the Irishmen of Melbourne, can be imagined. Some proposed taking possession of the Town Hall by force; but peaceful counsels prevailed, and the lecture was held in St. Patrick's Hall, a room capable of holding a thousand people. The scene was described by one who was present as the most remarkable he had ever witnessed. Nor was the enthusiasm confined to St. Patrick's Hall, which was so crowded-the lecturer had to be passed on to the front of the platform over the people's heads—that it overflowed into the streets outside, which were thronged by crowds who, unable to obtain admission, showed their sympathy, not only for one who was speaking for Ireland, but for one whose voice those in brief authority were endeavouring

On Mr. Bromby's arrival in Melbourne, he had been courteously received, and on the proposal of Sir D. Clark, known as the richest Australian, he had been made an honorary member of the Melbourne Club. After the first lecture he was requested to withdraw from that social institution. Such was the attitude of "Society" in Victoria then to Home Rule. They have now, in the person of Lord Brassey, a Home Rule Governor.

Many other towns to which Mr. Bromby went followed the example of Melbourne. He found himself "boycotted." This naturally increased the enthusiasm of the Irish Australians, but it often prevented an appeal being made to those for whom the lectures were principally intended-Englishmen who had neither opportunity nor inclination to find out for themselves the facts of their own

In New South Wales the same difficulty was often experienced, and though the Irish Colonists supported the learned lecturer wherever he went, every obstacle was thrown in the way of his obtaining a fair hearing by the Colonial authorities, and this, although the whole proceeds of the lectures were devoted to charitable purposes, the relief of evicted tenants in Ireland, and the restoration of the Catholic cathedral in Tasmania, which had fallen into ruin.

In 1884 Mr. Bromby returned to England, and in 1886 he contested the Walton Division of Liverpool as a Liberal Home Ruler, but was defeated by a combination of Liberal Unionists and Tories.

With an unbounded admiration for the late Charles Stewart Parnell, and all he did for Ireland in keeping unity and concord among the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party, he has called upon all who really care for Ireland's welfare, and revere the memory of that great leader, to carry on his work, by sinking individual differences of opinion on minor points, and combining under one head elected by the majority of the nation, until their cause is won. This was the message the delegate of North Tasmania endeavoured to convey to the Irish people at the Convention of the Irish Race, together with the expression of undying love which the Irish emigrants in that island, their children, and their children's children ever feel towards the sacred land of their forefathers.



OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE (NOW BANK OF IRELAND), DUBLIN.

VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS, ONTARIO, CANADA.

VERY REV. W. R. HARRIS, B.D., Dean of St. Catherine's, Ontario, Canada, was born on the 10th of March, 1847, in the city of Cork. He accompanied his parents to Canada when . mere child, and in the course of time entered St. Michael's College, Toronto, where he finished a brilliant classical course. He studied his metaphysics and philosophy at St. Anne's Seminary, Quebec, and in 1869 : ccompanied Archbishop Lynch, of Toronto, to Rome, to assist at the great Œcumenical Council. There he entered the College of the Propa



QUEENSTOWN HARBOUR, CO. CORK, [W. Lawrence, Dublin

ganda, where he finished his theological course, took his degrees, and in 1870 was ordained priest.

Before sailing for home he visited the principal cities of Europe, and familiarised himself with the great libraries of the continental capitals. On his return to Canada, he was appointed parish priest of Adjala, one of the largest and most important rural parishes in the territorially large diocese of Toronto. The young priest threw himself heart and soul into the missionary work that lay before him, and during the five years of his pastorship he added materially to the ecclesiastical buildings of the parish. In recognition of his unflagging zeal and executive ability, he was appointed at the early age of twenty-eight

to the rectorship of St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, but owing to ill health and pressure of hard work he was compelled to resign that very important position and remove to the rural parish of Newmarket, where he remained eight years. By his active identification with the civil and social interests of the town, and the surrounding country, he broke down the intense intolerance and bigotry for which the County of North York was notorious. In 1884, the Dean was appointed pastor of the city of St. Catherine's, and Dean of the Niagara Peninsula, and when leaving Newmarket a public meeting was convened, presided over by the Mayor, who, in the name of the Protestants of Newmarket and surrounding country, presented him with an address and a valuable testimonial. The work which he has accomplished in St. Catherine's will be a lasting tribute to his energy, enterprise and ability. During the twelve years of his pastorate, he expended over \$70,000 in the construction of ecclesiastical and educational buildings, so that to-day the parish of St. Catherine's is materially perhaps the most complete in the whole province. Apart from his spiritual and parochial work, the Dean has been prominently identified with the progress and development of secular and religious education, and in recognition of his active interest in the educational institutions of the province, he was selected in 1885 president of the Mechanics' Institute Association of Ontario, comprising a membership of 25,000. This was the first time in the history of the Association that a Catholic was chosen for this exalted office, and it was a public tribute to the Dean's success in spreading principals of liberality and kindly feeling among Catholics and Protestants in the most populous and influential province of the Dominion. As a scholar he ranks high among the literary men of Canada, being a frequent contributor to the leading magazines and newspapers. His "History of the Early Missions in Western Canada," and his work on the "Catholic Church in the Niagara Peninsula," have fixed his position in the Catholic literature of his country for all time. Referring to his work on the early Indian Missions, the Buffalo Express characterised it, as among the ablest productions of Canadian authors, involving an amount of research and patient investigation, that was simply marvellous in one who is occupied with the work and interests of a large parish. Before entering the priesthood, Dean Harris was distinguished as an athlete, and in 1869 took the "Gold Medal and Championship of the Dominion" in general athletics. His speeches at the Irish Race Convention, and in the North and West of Ireland, are yet fresh in the memories of our people, and marked him as a priest of great ability and eloquence. As a Catholic author, historian and litterateur, he is recognised all over the Dominion, and is rated among the foremost of his day. His style is singularly his own, and he aims at making a clear statement, which can be comprehended by all.

THE REV. PATRICK LYNCH, MANCHESTER.

THE Church of St. Wilfrid, Manchester, ranks amongst the oldest hurches in the city, St. Mary's, Mulberry Street, being the oldest. St. Wilfrid's was opened on August 28th, 1842. The architect was the elder Pugia, and it was one of the first churches built by him. Land was bought by Father Whittaker, who was the rector of this portion of Manchester at the time. A large plot was secured sufficient for church, schools, and presbytery, and a large-sized Catholic cemetery as well. The church was built in what was then the open country, and on the opening day friends from Manchester had to walk through the corn-fields which entirely surrounded the church. There were strong complaints expressed that the church was built entirely too far out in the country, and that the congregation would experience great difficulty in having to walk so far. The scene around St. Wilfrid's has changed since then. The fields of waving corn are gone, giving place to the hard stone pavement of the streets, and instead of the twitter of the birds in the hedges is now heard both night and day the rumble of a traffic with the ends of the earth. The present boys' school was built four or five years after the opening of the church. It was divided by a partition into two portions, one for boys, the other for girls. Later on the present girls' school was built, the memorial stone of which was laid by the late Bishop Turner. In 1894-5 the present extension to the schools was built, the foundation stone being laid by his lordship, Dr. Bilsborrow. It affords accommodation for about 250 children.

Father Whittaker did not long remain rector of St. Wilfrid's. He was removed to Liverpool, and died a martyr to priestly duty in the great Liverpool fever plague. He was succeeded in 1844 by Canon Toole. Though Canon Toole did not build the church he was in the truest sense of the term the "founder" of St. Wilfrid's. There were few Catholic clergymen so well known in Lancashire 40 years ago as Canon Toole. He was a man of great learning and powerful intellect. In letters, sermons, and speeches the mighty strength of the man showed itself. He never played a coward's part, or ever lowered the old flag. In the great educational battle of 1870, and since, Canon Toole's vigorous common sense, lucidity of utterance and adherence to principle have laid the Catholics under obligation to cherish his memory. He died on March 10th, 1892. He was succeeded by Father Lynch, the present rector, on April 4th, 1893.

The Rev. Patrick Lynch was born in Killarney on March 17th, 1852. He received his early education in St. Brendan's Diocesan Seminary there, and at the age of eighteen entered Maynooth. He

read the usual Maynooth course of philosophy and theology, and at the completion of his college career, volunteered to serve in the Diocese of Salford. The Bishop of Salford (the present Cardinal) ordained him priest in the Salford Cathedral in 1876. Father Lynch had distinguished himself so signally in Maynooth that his Bishop appointed him Professor of Mathematics in the college of St. Bede's, which was just then founded. St. Bede's College was transferred from the centre of Manchester to the suburbs, and the district which had been assigned to the college in the town was erected into a separate mission, under the title of "The Holy Family." The young



From photo byl

MUCEROSS ABBEY, KILLARNEY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

professor was appointed rector of the mission, as the work was one of peculiar difficulty and importance. The sugar industry was then in a flourishing condition in Manchester, and the large factories in the district employed over 3,000 hands, many of whom were Catholics. The closing of those factories was a serious blow to the new parish, and Father Lynch had to struggle for years with a crushing burden of debt on the mission. Though the church was very small and unattractive, large congregations were the rule at all the services. Every winter he commenced what he called his "winter campaign," and lectured on the various great truths which Protestants regard as the great difficulty in Catholicism. Protestants always attended in

large numbers. On some occasions there were as many as three or four hundred Protestants present at the sermon. This led to many conversions. Not only in the pulpit did Father Lynch defend the church, but for the last twenty years the Manchester public are well aware of his trenchant and powerful style in the public Press. But it is in the great battle of Catholic rights on the Education question that Father Lynch has done yeoman service. On the platform and in the Press for the past few years he is well known throughout Lancashire. On the Manchester School Board, of which he is a member, he was so fortunate as to carry the famous Manchester Resolution, which was the first great Catholic victory in the present phase of the educational struggle. Let us hope that the victory is a happy omen of the final triumph.

Father Lynch is thoroughly Irish, and has the welfare of the country of his birth very much at heart. He raised his voice on behalf of unity, and was heard to great advantage in Dublin at the great Irish Convention held in that city. His figure is well known

in every movement for the benefit of the Irish race.



GENERAL POST OFFICE, DUBLIN.

PATRICK DUNLEVY, PHILADELPHIA.

PATRICK DUNLEVY, who represented the Philadelphia Council of the Irish National Federation of America in the Convention of the Irish Race held in the city of Dublin, September 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, 1896, was born in the parish of Clondavaddog, Fanad, County Donegal, March 3rd, 1848. His father was Ralph Dunlevy, and his mother's unmarried name was Rose O'Doherty, of the parish of Clonmany, in Inishowen. She was a sister of the late Rev. R. P. O'Doherty, P.P., of Culdaff, and of the late Rev. Daniel O'Doherty, P.P. of Cappagh, Tyrone, who died in 1865.



From photo by]

GLENCOLUMBRILLE, CO. DONEGAL.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

It was in the autumn of 1851 that our delegate's parents left Ireland for Philadelphia with their family, and although their house in Ireland has long been occupied as a police station, and the farm is worked for the landlord, yet the place is still known to the people as Ralph Dunlevy's, and they continue to be remembered with warm affection by the old people of Fanad and Inishowen. Mr. Dunlevy attended St. Patrick's parochial school in Philadelphia, and also took a course in a business college of that city. Although quite young, during the Civil War in the United States he held a position of

responsibility in the transportation service and in the medical and engineering departments of the armies, and has vivid recollections of

the stirring events of that great war.

He was an earnest supporter of the Fenian movement, but greatly deplored the dissensions that split the organisation in America. He was also an active member of a Catholic Literary Society and chairman of its Debating Club for three years. Mr. Dunlevy joined the Catholic Total Abstinence movement in Philadelphia twenty-four years ago, and devoted his time and attention to that great cause, until the Land League movement was started, when he transferred his labours and activities entirely to the Irish cause, although he is still a strong advocate of total abstinence. He organised one of the first Land League branches of Philadelphia, and also organised the Philadelphia Central Union of the Land League and acted as its president until it was replaced by the Municipal Council of the Irish National League. He was president of the latter organisation when the Irish Ambassadors came to the United States just before the unfortunate split. Mr. T. P. Gill, who came in advance to make arrangements for the American tour of the Ambassadors, was visited on his arrival in New York by Mr. Dunlevy, on behalf of the Philadelphia organisation, which authorized him to pledge five thousand dollars. After a conference with Mr. Gill as to the prospects of the financial success of the contemplated tour, Mr. Dunlevy on returning home immediately wrote Mr. Gill that the first meeting of the Ambassadors should take place in Philadelphia, as they could get a better send off there than in any other city of the country, especially with good financial results. Mr. Gill complied with the suggestion, and the events that followed proved its value. Mr. Dunlevy attended the conference that organised the Irish National Federation of America in New York with Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D., as president, and the late Eugene Kelly, as treasurer, after which he with Mr. Hugh McCaffrey and Mr. Michael J. Ryan, and others reorganised the Irish National League into the Federation, Mr. McCaffrey being unanimously elected president and Mr. Dunlevy vice-president of the Philadephia Council of the Irish National Federation of America. They have continued with the organisation to support the cause, under great difficulty, however, owing to the dissensions in Ireland. Mr. Dunlevy was a delegate to the Irish Race Convention held in Chicago in the year 1881; and he was also a delegate to the great Convention that formed the Irish National League of America in Philadelphia in the year 1883; and further he was a delegate to the League Convention in Chicago in the year 1886. For over sixteen years he has not missed a meeting of the Commodore Barry Branch, which he organised, and has been its president during that time. He has attended every meeting of

the Land League Central Union, the National League and Philadelphia Council of the Irish National Federation of America, during their entire existence. He has, therefore, worked in the Irish cause to the best of his ability, and it was on that account that he was selected to represent Philadelphia in the late Dublin Convention, his associates knowing full well that he would do his utmost to bring about a reunion in the Irish Party and represent their sentiments on that vital question. Mr. Dunlevy has never sought preferment in the Irish-American organisation, but he has been repeatedly honoured therein, and has the good will of every practical worker in the cause in his adopted city.

While on his way to the Convention from Philadelphia to Dublin Mr. Dunlevy accompanied the aged Mrs. Parnell, mother of the late Charles Stewart Parnell. They were by accident on the steamship, Mrs. Parnell going on a visit to her daughter, Mrs. Dickenson, at Bray. Mr. Dunlevy and Mrs. Parnell have been friends in the States for many

years, and he attended the old lady to Dublin.

Mr. Dunlevy is at present employed by the McCaffrey File Company of Philadelphia, of which company, Mr. Hugh McCaffrey, with whom Mr. Dunlevy has been associated during all the present Irish movement, is the president.

The Irishmen and their descendants in Philadelphia have given practical evidence of their desire to see Ireland a self-governing nation; and it was owing to business and professional engagements that Mr. Dunlevy had not a number of colleagues from the Quaker City to participate in the deliberations of the Convention. Self-sacrificing friends of the cause like Hugh McCaffrey, the eloquent young Irish-American Michael J. Ryan, Edward Logue, and the Rev. Thomas Barry, would have attended the Convention, but they were unavoidably detained from joining in the appeal for unity.



VERY REV. DR. FOLEY, HALIFAX, CANADA.

Among the many delegates from abroad at the Irish Race Convention, there was, perhaps, none that made a more distinct and favourable impression than the Rev. Dr. Wm. Foley, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Physically, a splendid figure, a pleasing presence, and delightful manner, still in the prime of youthful vigour, a voice musical yet articulate, his speech, which was eloquent and to the point, was listened to with rapt attention by the vast assembly.

He was born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1866. His preliminary studies were made at St. Mary's College, Halifax, and his studies in



GIANT'S CAUSEWAY.

theology were made at Laval University, Quebec, Province of Quebec. Here he took the degree of D.D., with marked distinction. Since then he has been located in St. Patrick's parish, and also in St. Mary's. Halifax. In both he had charge of the religious societies, for which these parishes are remarkable, and spared no pains to conduct them efficiently. Eloquent in speech, and intensely interested in the welfare and prosperity of Ireland, he never loses an opportunity to further the Irish cause. That the national movement is very dear to him, was abundantly evident to those whose privilege it was to listen to his soul-stirring speech in the Leinster Hall. That speech, it may be taken, was a sufficient proof of his powers in oratory, and his zeal in the Irish cause. The Irishmen of Halifax, and their friends, might well feel proud of their representative.

MARTIN KENNEDY, WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND.

MR. MARTIN KENNEDY, one of the directors of the Bank of New Zealand, has long been a prominent colonist. Attracted by the Australian gold rush, Mr. Kennedy left the Old Land, and in January, 1860, arrived in Victoria, where for some twelve months he took an active part at the diggings. The news of the rich discoveries in Otago, which was carried by every vessel across the Tasman Sea, induced the subject of this notice to cross over to New Zealand in company with many others equally enterprising and sanguine. Otago generally, and



OLD WEIR BRIDGE AND MEETING OF WATERS, KILLARNEY.

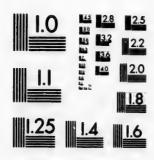
the city of Dunedin particularly, are indebted for the progress since made, to the push, ability and determination of the new colonists, who took their share in the events of the stirring times that followed their advent. Until 1865 Mr. Kennedy and his brother carried on business as merchants at Queenstown, on Lake Wakatipu. At the beginning of the West Coast rush Mr. Kennedy removed to Greymouth, where for over twenty years he held a leading position as a merchant. While resident on the Coast he was always foremost to assist any legitimate enterprise that had for its object the development of the resources of the country. He was largely interested in gold mining in all parts of the West Coast, giving his time and experience cheerfully to further the interests of the ventures with which he was connected. Mr. Kennedy acquired, in 1874, a considerable share in the coal mines at Brunnerton,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SPEAKERS. 67

to which he began to devote a large share of his time. His duties in connection with the mine became so onerous that in 1880 he discontinued the mercantile business and devoted himself entirely to them. It was not long before Mr. Kennedy became sole proprietor of the Brunner Colliery and the steam colliers employed in the trade. For years he conducted a large business as a coal-mine proprietor, but in 1888 he amalgamated his colliery with the Westport Company's interest at Brunnerton. The amalgamated company is well known as the Grey Valley Coal Company; Mr. Kennedy having at the same time sold half his coal interest, as well as all his steamboat interest to the Union Steamship Company, became managing director of the Grey Valley Coal Company, and took up his abode in the Empire City in the following year. At this time he also took the managing directorship of the company which purchased Messrs. Staples and Co.'s brewery at Thorndon. Mr. Kennedy is the proprietor of a sheep-run in the Wairarapa, besides which he is interested in other local undertakings, and acts as a director of several companies. In 1876 he was returned as a member of the House of Representatives for the Grey Electorate District. Finding, after serving for two sessions, that he could not give the time required he resigned his seat, and has not since entered the political arena. Mr. Kennedy, who is a native of County Tipperary, Ireland, where he was born in 1841, is at present resident in Wellington, New Zealand, and had a real genuine Irish welcome from his friends in Ireland, on the occasion of attending the Irish Race Convention in Dublin, where he was deputed to represent the Irishmen of New Zealand. The reception accorded him was, if possible, even more hearty on his return home to Wellington. A mass meeting was held in St. Patrick's Hall, in the name of the Wellington Branch of the Irish National Federation, but the hall was entirely inadequate to accommodate those seeking admission. Mr. Driscoll occupied the chair, and a very interesting address was delivered by Mr. Kennedy, who sealed his convictions by there and then promising £50 to the Irish Party. On the motion of the Rev. Father Devoy, seconded by Mr. Twomey, a vote of thanks to Mr. Kennedy was carried amidst loud and prolonged applause.



IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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REV. GEORGE F. MARSHALL, NEW HAMPSHIRE, U.S.A.

REV. GEO. F. MARSHALL, rector St. Paul's Church, Milford, New Hampshire, U.S.A., delegate of the Manchester Federation, and delegate at large from the Federation of America was born at Mount Nicholas, Ballymacelligott, Kerry, on January 23rd, 1859. Having attended the National Schools of his native parish, on the commencement of his seventeenth year, he entered the Seminary of Holy Cross, Tralee, and had the good fortune of having Mr. T. Harrington, now M.P., for one of his professors. Moreover, through the great kindness of



From photo by]

DRUNG HILL, ROSS BAY, CO. KERRY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

the Very Rev. Louis J. Hickey, O.P., now Provincial of his order, and also the Very Rev. John Ryan, O.P., for some time Prior of Holy Cross, every opportunity was afforded him to advance in his studies. After a three years' course of classics, he reluctantly gave up his studies, and during the few years intervening. between his leaving Ireland and emigration to Canada, in search of health and strength, his time was occupied in doing a little work for the branch of the Land League established in his parish, and in the enjoyment of the prison life provided for hundreds of his fellow countrymen under the various Coercion Acts. The Land League

movement gave courage to young and old, but soon the strong hands of the Government were laid on those who helped the good work among the people. Efforts were made to induce young Land Leaguers to emigrate; threats of eviction against their parents had not the desired effect, and so the jails were prepared. The "peelers'" eyes were on them, and it was not long until the subject of this sketch found himself arrested for a moonlight raid made in his neighbourhood. The usual investigation was held, but a pair of magistrates and a police sub-inspector were baffled in their efforts. On the evening of the release of the prisoner and his companions, the people for miles around gave evidence of their satisfaction, as the many bonfires blazing on the hills around testified, but this liberty was of short duration, and the Coercion Act of 1881 in a few days had the erstwhile prisoner within its all embracing net, for at midnight, on April 3rd, an arrest was made, and by the next twilight Geo. F. Marshall was within the gates of Kilmainham prison, Dublin, to remain there as long as the Coercion Act was in force, or until such time as a promise would be given by him of no further interference in the Land League agitation. This promise never given left to the prisoner a prospect of eighteen months' close confinement, but his ill health forced the authorities to liberate him after eight months. Land League work, and distributing to the evicted tenants and to the families of the suspects the funds given to him for that purpose, made him again an inmate of the prison, and by the time of his release on August 31st, 1882, he had been confined in the prisons of Clonmel, Naas, Enniskillen, and Kilmainham, journeying from one place to another. Finally, he was again free, and the Coercion Act being about to expire, he found himself in a position to leave the country. The scene changes. An October morning finds the exile, friendless and alone on the wharf at Ouebec, and where to turn to is the question he naturally puts himself. Prison life had left him but very little strength. Nights without sleep, by reason of the watch-cry of the guards, made him a victim of insomnia, and it was hard to realise he should again find health in the woods of Canada. The winter setting in, however, he turns his eyes southward, and enters after a two days' and nights' weary ride the great city of New York, where he makes up his mind to return to Ireland. But he is dissuaded, and goes to the New England States, where he finds employment. He afterwards entered a Maryland college. A year having passed, he entered Manhattan College, New York, and was received into the Senior class, and he found himself soon qualified to enter on the study of theology, becoming affiliated with the newly erected Diocese of Man-He subsequently entered the Grand Seminary under the care of the Sulpitian Fathers, Montreal, Canada.

During three years and three months the subject of our sketch pursued his studies, and notwithstanding the insomnia contracted in prison, applied himself with diligence, and in due course was raised to the priesthood by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Sherbrooke, Canada. Since then Father Marshall has been engaged in the work of the ministry as assistant priest in the populous city of Manchester, as pastor on many missions on the borders of Canada, and as rector of the church over which he now presides. He was a few months only in charge of this church, when two of Manchester's leading Irish citizens visited him, and requested him to become delegate of their branch of the Federation to the Convention of the Irish Race. Father Marshall went joyfully on his mission, and had the great and never to be forgotten pleasure of being present at the memorable Convention.



REV. M. A. CLANCY, PLACENTIA, NEWFOUNDLAND.

The Rev. M. A. Clancy was born in Ennis, County Clare, on September 14th, 1843. Educated at the Christian Brothers' chools, and subsequently at St. Finnian's College in his native town, he entered Maynooth in September, 1863. Having there read a distinguished rhetoric and philosophy course, and begun his theological studies, he became a student of the English College in Bruges, Belgium, in 1867, and in November, 1871, was ordained priest for the diocese of St. John's, Newfoundland. In that diocese he filled for a year the position of professor in St. Bonaventure's College, and chaplain to the Sisters of Mercy, Belvedere, St. John's, and was then for two years curate in



AMPHITHEATRE, KILKEE, CO. CLARE.

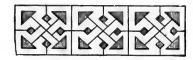
Salmonier, and for three years administrator of Ferryland. In 1877 he was appointed pastor of Ferryland, and was transferred in 1884 to the more important parish of Placentia.

During all his life, as a boy, a student, and a priest, Father Clancy has been distinguished for assiduous attention to duty, and intense love of Ireland. Well-read, eloquent, honest, and fearless, he has everywhere been a stout struggler in the cause of Faith and Fatherland. When the Irishmen of Newfoundland, in public meeting in St. John's, in August, 1896, proceeded to select delegates for the Irish Race Convention, Father Clancy was unanimously chosen along with J. D. Ryan, Esq., of St. John's, to represent at home the men and women whose hearts beat true to Ireland among the ice and snows of Terra Nova.

REV. EDWARD S. PHILLIPS, WILKESBARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

THE Rev. Edward S. Phillips, delegate to the Irish Race Convention, and member of the Municipal Council of the I.N. Federation of Wilkesbarre, was born near Hawley, Wayne County, Pennsylvania, October 4th, 1857, and is son of Edward Phillips and Mary O'Hara, formerly of County Mayo, Ireland, being youngest of the family. As a boy he attended the public schools at Pittson, and he received portion of his classical education from Father Finnen, then Vicar General of the Diocese of Scranton, and pastor of St. John's Church, Pittson. His studies were afterwards made at St. Charles College, Ellicot City, Maryland. He studied philosophy and theology at St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, and was ordained priest 27th September, 1881, in the cathedral at Scranton, by the Right Rev. Dr. O'Hara. He was engaged in missionary work for two years at the cathedral, after which he was located in various parts of the diocese, principally Hazelton, and came to Plains, June 30th, 1888, as pastor of the Sacred Heart Church, which has a congregation of more than two thousand souls. Here, there are parochial schools, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, of the adjacent Convent, where Mrs. Mary Carolan McQuade, a native of Carrickmacross, Ireland, is Rev. Mother. There are about three hundred and fifty pupils in attendance. The Convent of Mercy is beautifully situated, and the grounds are spacious and attractive. As a priest, Father Phillips' career has been most successful, and while ever securing the confidence of his own charge, commands the esteem and admiration of all classes.

On the occasion of the notable visit of Messrs. Parnell and Dillon to America, he was so struck with their description of the poverty and persecutions of the Irish people by an alien government, that he heartily resolved to do everything within the limit of his power to redress their grievances. He has been faithful to his resolutions, and while liberal in his contributions, his voice and pen are ever at the service of the Irish cause.



JOHN FERGUSON, GLASGOW.

OF good physique, and endowed with vigorous attributes of mind and body, John Ferguson, of the firm of Cameron, Ferguson and Co., has made himself known as a writer and speaker on Home Rule, social and politico-economic subjects throughout the three kingdoms. He has been often requested to stand for Irish and Scotch constituencies, but has always refused the honour of sitting at Westminster. His municipal career has been a great success. He



From photo by]

DUNLUCE CASTLE, CO. ANTRIM.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

has created a spirit amongst the working men that has sent him a strong band of supporters, and he has told the Council he will change its convictions, or change its members. He represents the Fourth Ward, which is the only one in the city that returns three members who are ardent single-taxers, all three being disciples of Henry George, and members of the Executive of the Scottish Land Restoration Union. Mr. Ferguson was born in County Antrim in 1836, and is, therefore, sixty-one years of age. He received his early education chiefly at Belfast. While young he did not enter very much into political life, his attention being devoted to religious movements. He

was closely identified with Church of England affairs, and Young Men's Christian Associations. He came to Glasgow in 1859 with the usual prejudices acquired in high-class schools, and by association with the ascendancy classes in Ireland amongst whom his early life was cast. He had, however, learned from Professor Cliffe Leslie, of the Queen's University, and other distinguished men, in classes and in society, principles which were calculated to destroy the conservative notions of his family surroundings, and these speedily made themselves manifest in the more liberal atmosphere of Scotland. While passing down Nelson Street, in Glasgow, one evening his attention was arrested by a loud and animated discussion, the sound of which was proceeding from a hall in the vicinity. He entered. A fierce discussion was raging. The Pope was being denounced in all the moods and tenses, and two or three Irish Catholics were fighting their political battles against great odds. Although the religious principles as personified in the person of the Pope were doubtless objectionable to one reared as Mr. Ferguson had been, his broad humanitarian sympathies took him to the Irish side, and he found himself hotly discussing the Irish land question with men who seemed to think that tenant-right was robbery of landlords, and a principle that only Papists or immoral men could think of admitting. As years rolled on he became more closely associated, not only in Glasgow, but all over the Empire, with his countrymen-that is to say, in the main with Catholics-though not altogether, as there were always some Protestant Irish Nationalists, until he deemed the time had come to lift the standard of revolt on that side of the water, and the first Home Rule Association in Great Britain was established in Glasgow. He entered heart and soul into the movement, with the result that several branches were formed throughout Great Britain. He was the moving spirit in the Glasgow body, which for years was visited by such leading Irishmen as Isaac Butt, John Martin, A. M. Sullivan, Father O'Malley, Rev. Isaac Nelson, Professor Galbraith, Charles Stewart Parnell, and a host of others who addressed crowded meetings of Irish Nationalists in the City Hall. Ugly language was used about this time by the Press as to driving all Irishmen out of Scotland. Mr. Ferguson thought it necessary to organise vast processions of Irishmen in Glasgow, numbering from 30,000 to 50,000, in order to show that if such were attempted Anti-Irishmen would have more work on their hands than they were aware of. His business suffered greatly at this time, it being no uncommon thing for his firm to receive on the morning following a demonstration in which he had taken part half a dozen letters enclosing cheques and closing accounts, as the senders could have nothing to do with Home Rulers, for it must be remembered that Home Rule at that time occupied such a position that The

Glasgow Herald in an editorial once asked Mr. Ferguson: "Come now, be frank; do you really believe that ever a time will come when you will have a Scotchman believing in Home Rule?" Mr. Ferguson answered: "Yes, because the Scotch nation is eminently clear-headed and logical. Home Rule is as necessary a conclusion in politics as that 3 and 3 are 6 in arithmetic. It is bound to come." To show how the hatred to Home Rule displayed itself prior to the conversion of the Liberal Party in 1885, it may be mentioned that while at Springburn holding a meeting with 20,000 Irish Nationalists around him, rifle bullets were fired at those on the platform and took effect upon two persons. A man was arrested, proof was given, and the authorities thought six weeks sufficient for shooting two Home Rulers. About the same time a rifle bullet was fired at Mr. Ferguson's house at Lenzie, and the perforation in the plate pane is there still as a testimony to the evil spirit created by the Press of Scotland at that time. It would be a lesson to many Scottish Home Rulers who now cheer Mr. Ferguson when he appears at public meetings were they to turn back to '76 or '79 and read the misrepresentations of Home Rule and Mr. Ferguson that then appeared in the daily press. Mr. Ferguson was one of the originators of the Irish Land League, which was started by half a dozen men, the first meeting being held at Irishtown, in the County Mayo. At the meeting he expounded the land-for-the-people doctrine. His colleague at the time was Mr. Thomas Brennan, who advocated the principles of advanced Nationalism. Mr. Michael Davitt was another of his colleagues, and would have been at the Irishtown meeting but for missing a train. Had he been present he would have addressed the meeting within view of the spot from which his parents were evicted in his youthful days. The subject of our sketch was the first to proclaim Charles Stewart Parnell leader of the Irish nation, and expressions of surprise from his friends was the result. Mr. Parnell was first publicly declared leader at a meeting in Glasgow, and also subsequently at Liverpool, Mr. Ferguson accompanying him there. He has delivered over 1,200 platform addresses in England and Scotland, and written over 1.400 articles and letters upon economic and political questions. He was in thorough accord with Henry George when he published "Progress and Poverty," Mr. George sent him a copy from America, saying he would shortly visit Europe, and would like to talk its contents over with him, and discuss their points of difference on "capital as a factor in production, and the population question, with Michael Davitt, say, as umpire." Mr. Ferguson attended the Irish Race Convention, and delivered a speech of great power.



VALENCIA, CO. KERRY.

REV. PATRICK F. FLYNN.

THERE were few speakers at the Irish Race Convention, who attracted so much general attention in the Press and otherwise, as did the Rev. Patrick F. Flynn, P.P., Ballybricken, Waterford. Father Flynn clearly did not seek notoriety, but was most sincere in his efforts to bring about unity, and was evidently anxious to do his very best in the interest of Ireland. The amendment which stood in his name, and which he proposed would, if carried, at once end the sessions and the speaches, as well as all the deliberations of the Convention. This, he afterwards realised himself, and withdrew his amendment, but not without considerable discussion. Everything can be viewed from two standpoints, and thus the newspapers on the one hand praised him for his sincerity and honesty of purpose, and his willingness to make sacrifice in the interests of peace and unity, whereas on the other, this action was attributed to the great pressure that was brought to bear upon him, and was, therefore, adduced as a proof of the utter lack of freedom, throughout the proceedings. Some again took a humorous view of the situation, and the parodies were not a little amusing. The humble parish priest of Ballybricken, accordingly arose one morning to find himself famous.

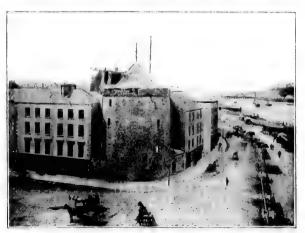
The Rev. Patrick F. Flynn, P.P., Trinfty Without, Ballybricken, Waterford, is a priest of the Diocese of Waterford, where he was born in 1842. From his earliest years he manifested a desire for the priesthood, and so shortly after having attained the canonical age, was raised to the priesthood, which had been the ambition of his life. He laboured as curate in Clonmel, and subsequently in Dungarvan, two of the most important parishes of the Diocese of Waterford. In both, his mission was most successful, and he was exceedingly popular, especially with the poor. He was always an able and zealous advocate in the interests of education, and watched over the schools in the various parishes where he has been located with the greatest solicitude. He has, too, taken an interest in the farming class, and endeavoured to assist them by his experience, always urging them to adopt newer and more systematic methods. For some time he was Administrator of Ballybricken, and was in due course appointed parish priest. Here he still remains, and devotes his whole energies to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his people.

Father Flynn has been for many years connected with Irish politics, and is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, as a most earnest and uncompromising Nationalist. He has suffered severely in the Irish cause, and borne patiently the misrepresentation to which he was subjected at the time of the notorious split in the Irish Party. Waterford was then, as it is now, with some modifications, a stronghold of Parnellism, and hence he was obliged in support of his convictions, to adopt a very determined course, and part company with his best friends. His greatest opponents, however, admired his sincerity and honesty of purpose, and most of them have since sought his friendship. In every movement, since the earliest days of the Land League, that he considered might benefit the Irish people he has taken part, and by his advice and counsel, as well as by his purse, endeavoured to render every assistance in his power. Father Flynn is peculiarly well gifted as a speaker. His voice is distinct and pleasing, and there is in his manner a tone of earnestness that must command attention. He is greatly esteemed among his fellow priests, who admire his gentlemanliness, his piety, and candour. We wish him many years to rule over his populous and important parish, and continue to contribute by his ability and disinterested patriotism, to the cause of Ireland.



ALDERMAN W. J. SMYTH.

ALDERMAN W. J. SMYTH, Mayor of Waterford for 1895-96, has been identified with the public life of that city for the last quarter of a century. He is principal of the firm of Messrs. W. J. Smyth and Co., and has always taken a prominent part in the Municipal and political matters affecting Waterford. In 1879, on the return of Mr. Parnell from America, he seconded the vote of thanks and freedom of the city passed by the Corporation to him, then comparatively unknown, and just entering on that remarkable career, which eventually cul-



From photo by]

REGINALD'S TOWER, WATERFORD.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

minated in his general recognition as leader of the Irish people. He was an ardent supporter of Mr. Parnell until the unfortunate division of 1890, when he felt constrained to take the side of the majority of the Irish Party. For many years he was Chairman of the Waterford Branch of the Irish National League, and was one of those deputed by the Corporation to wait on Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden, in October, 1886, presenting him with an address and casket.

Alderman Smyth attended the Convention of the Irish Race held in Dublin, and seconded an amendment proposed by Father Flynn,

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF SPEAKERS.

Waterford, its purport being that a committee of those assembled be appointed to confer together, and investigate the differences among the sections of Nationalists, with a view to effect unity. The amendment after considerable discussion, was withdrawn. He has been twice elected by his fellow citizens Mayor of Waterford, he is Justice of the Peace for the County and City of Waterford, Harbour Commissioner, Master of the Holy Ghost Hospital, an endowed public institution for the accommodation of some seventy elderly respectable natives of Waterford, and Governor of the County and City Infirmary.



T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.

OUR subject is among the most prominent Irishmen in Great Britain, and a leading member of the Irish Parliamentary Party. We only purpose to give the leading facts in a career, which has been already so brilliant, and which affords even brighter promise for the future. Mr. O'Connor delivered a speech at the Irish Race Convention, which for diction, force and eloquence, was the theme of every tongue, and it is on account of his part in the great event, that we take the liberty of penning what is necessarily an inadequate sketch.

Thomas Power O'Connor, M.P. for Scotland Division of Liverpool, eldest son of Thomas O'Connor and Teresa Power, was born at Athlone,



NATIONAL LIBRARY, DUBLIN.

County Roscommon, 5th October, 1848. He was first educated at the College of the Immaculate Conception, Athlone, and afterwards at the Queen's College, Galway, where he obtained the degrees of B.A. and M.A. Coming subsequently to Dublin, he adopted journalism, and remained for three years in connection with the Dublin Press. He always speaks in the highest terms of his treatment while connected with Saunders' Newsletter, a Dublin Conservative journal. In 1870 he went to London, and obtained the sub-editorship of the Daily Telegraph, and was afterwards employed in the London office of the New York Herald. He published in 1876, the first volume of a biography of the late Lord Beaconsfield, under the title "Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield," but changing his original intention, brought out a complete life of the then Premier, in a single volume, under the title, "Lord Beaconsfield, a Biography." From a

Mr. O'Connor visited the United States in 1881, and lectured in the principal cities on the Irish cause. The tour lasted for seven months, beginning in October and ending in May. His mission was very successful, and his lectures were attended by crowds of Irish and sympathisers with the Irish cause. In 1883 he was elected President of the National League of Great Britain, and has been re-elected for several years in succession. He was also re-elected at the Irish National League of Great Britain meeting held in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, September 4th, 1896. This is sufficient proof of the esteem in which Mr. O'Connor is held by the Nationalists of Great Britain. Not only is he a politician, but he is literary as well, and has written several works in addition to his life of Lord Beaconsfield. He was in part editor of the "Cabinet of Irish Literature," and has written "The Parnell Movement," which appeared in 1885, and is regarded as one of his best works. He is the author of "Gladstone's House of Commons," and more recently, "Napoleon." Besides, he has written a large collection of tales, essays, and magazine articles. Mr. O'Connor is a self-made man, and is not ashamed to own it. He was first aiming for the Civil Service, but some obstacle having been thrown in the way, he took to journalism, and afterwards politics, and in his own words drifted into his present position. In speaking of his career, Mr. O'Connor says his whole success in life is the result of chance. But in the supposition, we are afraid, he sets too little value on his own ability. He is still connected with journalism, and is editor and proprietor of the Weekly Sun, having disposed of his interest in the Star and Sun newspapers, both of which he founded. Being connected with the Press, Mr. O'Connor was in a position to do good service to the Irish cause, an opportunity of which he fully availed himself.

His motives have been impugned, and he has been time and again the subject of abuse, from those he sought to serve. We do not here intend to offer a vindication of his character; he needs no such vindication. The position which he holds in the Irish Party is strong confirmation of the confidence of his colleagues, while his retention of the Presidency of the Irish National League of Great Britain in such unbroken succession, and his continuous re-election by the constituents he now represents, are ample proof of the appreciation of the people. He has simply held the position of President, because no other could

be found to discharge its duties so ably. Though resident in London, Mr. O'Connor is Irish to the core, and still retains enough of the brogue to mark his nationality, and he is not ashamed of it. He tells us, that notwithstanding his long residence in England, his thoughts ever turn to the home of his childhood, and land of his Physically he is a splendid specimen of his race, tall and muscular, and proportionately built. When he speaks he becomes twice magnified. Mr. O'Connor is an orator in the proper sense of the term. His voice is adapted for speaking, loud and articulate, while his magnificent presence, his delightful diction, and appropriate gesture lend an exceptional charm to his oratory. According to our promise, we have but given a brief sketch of one of the ablest and best known of Irish politicians, but we have said enough to prove his great ability and his many services to Ireland. We trust he will long continue to take a leading part in Irish politics, for which he is so well adapted by his many years' experience and distinguished ability. Ireland needs his services.



VERY REV. MONSIGNOR JOHN O'LEARY.

Monsignor O'Leary, who dealt at some length with an amendment of Father Flynn's, Waterford, at the Irish Race Convention, is well known in Ireland and elsewhere for his marked ability, and for the interest which he has taken through many varying years in Irish politics. Though yet very young for a prelate, his career has been remarkable and eventful.

Born in the year 1850, at Timoleague, some six miles south of Bandon, in a place commanding a view of one of the numerous inlets,



From phote by]

EAGLE'S NEST, KILLARNEY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

which from Kinsale Head to Bantry Bay, give such a charm to West Cork scenery. He was first a pupil at the local school. Later he attended classical schools in Clonakilty and Bandon, and then went to Castleknock, where he greatly distinguished himself, gaining first prizes in all his classes. Here he had the charge of the library, and had ample opportunity of developing that taste for reading, which had so early manifested itself, and which has been so characteristic of him ever since. From Castleknock he entered Maynooth. In

the great National College, there are some six hundred students, with often a hundred in one class. There is always a good deal of generous and healthful competition, and it is recorded of our subject that he pursued his studies with great success, and came out high in the honors list each year. But on commencing his studies in theology, his health gave way, and he was obliged in consequence, to remain absent from college for nearly two years. However, contrary to the expectation of his fellow-students and his relatives, as well as his physician, he rallied, and was strong enough to return to Maynooth, where he was ordained priest in 1874. Despite his comparatively feeble health, he secured honors in moral and dogmatic theology,

scripture and Hebrew.

His first appointment was the curacy of Cape Clear. To most people it would have been a veritable exile, but the bracing healthfulness and purity of the atmosphere, enabled him to regain his former strength, and its very isolation forced him to seek consolation in reading and literature. But all his time was not given to study. He is practical as well as literary. Through him was built the pier at the Cape, which had long been the hope and dream of the sturdy inhabitants, but the work remained for the young curate to accomplish. After endless trouble and voluminous correspondence with the Board of Works, he eventually got the pier built at a cost of £3,000, considered a great sum to be spent on a public work in Ireland at that time. He also considerably aided the poor fishermen of Cape Clear and Baltimore by encouragement and advice, as well as supplying some of them with the necessary fishing gear. The results have since been most gratifying. His next mission was Union Hall, a district picturesquely situated between Castletownshend and Glandore, one of the most charming districts in Ireland. In his second appointment he became equally endeared to his people for his piety and zeal, and his general interest on their behalf. He was afterwards appointed curate of Clonakilty, where he became associated with the Land League, being horror stricken at the dreaded ravages made by landlordism in Ireland. His name was prominently brought before the public on the occasion of his celebrated disputation with Bence Iones, on the relations of the Irish landlord and tenant. Bence Jones was then in the height of his power and glory in Clonakilty, and being something of a litterateur, wielded a facile and caustic pen. practised in early life as a barrister in London, and with such qualifications, it was difficult to expect a practically inexperienced and obscure Catholic curate, to successfully combat so doughty a foeman. Father O'Leary, however, was equal to the occasion, and exposed landlord tactics so ably in the Contemporary Review, that many of the literary journals pronounced one of his articles the best in the Contemporary for the month. Congratulations were forthwith showered upon him, from every part of the United Kingdom.

Though he took a leading part in the land agitation, and hardly missed an opportunity of attending a Land League meeting, when he considered his presence might be required, it was his invariable rule never to be absent from any duty of the parish, a resolve which he fixedly and rigidly observed. Thus he was known to make a speech at a Parnell banquet at Cork at midnight and return to Clonakilty, and resume his duties without any rest; to attend a meeting in Dublin, returning by the night mail to Bandon, whence he took an outside car for home, lest he might disappoint his people of the morning Mass. Overwork, in due time, told upon his constitution, at no time very robust. He was obliged to take a somewhat lengthened holiday, but he soon recovered sufficiently to undertake the administratorship of the Bishop's parish of Skibbereen. important charge he undertook in the year 1884. He was appointed parish priest of Clonakilty, and Vicar Forane in 1889. Lately he has been raised to the dignity of domestic prelate, by His Holiness Leo XIII., and at the time this dignity was conferred upon him, was probably the youngest prelate in the Catholic world outside Rome. In private life he is a sterling friend, gentlemanly and accomplished. He is a close student of contemporary history, while his literary productions are marked by great clearness and force. At one time it was intended he should prepare for the bar. Had this intention been carried out, the Church would have lost a model, zealous and patriotic priest, and there is little doubt the law would have acquired a brilliant and accomplished member.



REV. WILLIAM MEAGHER.

The Rev. William Meagher, the worthy and patriotic curate of St. Mary's. Clonmel, comes of an old and respected family in County Tipperary, whence he drew his inspirations of piety and patriotism. He was ordained in the Kilkenny Cathedral, on Rosary Sunday, 1872, at the comparatively early age of twenty-four, by Cardinal Moran, Sydney, but then Bishop of Ossory. Three brothers of the family joined the sacred ministry; of these two are still in the Diocese of Waterford, including the subject of this sketch, and the third, Rev. Jeremiah Meagher, is lately deceased. Soon after his ordination, he was appointed curate of St. Mary's, Clonmel, and it has been the scene of his labours for quarter of a century, except during the brief period of his transfer, by the Most Rev. Dr. Egan, to Cahir. But he was shortly re-appointed to Clonmel, to the great joy of his former parishioners.

Father Meagher, though a sterling and unswerving patriot, has endeared himself to all classes in Clonmel, and he is known over most of the Southern Irish Counties for his patriotism, his piety, and his genuine kindliness of heart. On the occasion of the memorable sheriff's sales, 31st May, 1880, when the soldiers charged the people, he with Dean Kinane, of Cashel, and other priests, and some influential laymen, stood by the crowd and averted what might have been a terrible scene of bloodshed. In every political agitation since becoming a priest, he nobly espoused the cause of the people, and was vice-president of the National League of Clonmel at a very early stage. He also held the same position when the National League was replaced by the Irish National Federation. At the Parnell split, he boldly stood by the majority of the Irish Party, and although the Parnellites mustered strong at Clonmel, more than once they gave proof of their esteem and respect for him, albeit his political views were very different from theirs. But, perhaps, he is most esteemed for his sympathy with the poor and his interest on behalf of the struggling tenantry. He has been instrumental in effecting settlements between landlords and tenants in cases where all such hope had been long abandoned. No wonder that Father Meagher's name is enshrined in the hearts of his people.



WILLIAM SULLIVAN, BRADFORD.

THE subject of this sketch, Mr. William Sullivan, was a delegate to the great Irish Race Convention, from the Bradford (Yorks.) Central Branch, I.N.L.G.B., of which branch he has been president for some years. He was born in the city of London on 15th of August, 1855. His father and mother were natives_of County Cork, whence they migrated to London about the year 1850. Like most of our people who left Ireland about that time to find homes in English centres, they found it hard to make headway, and consequently, at an early



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CROMWELL'S BRIDGE, GLENGARRIFF. [W. Lawrence, Dublin

age, young Sullivan had to take to work. At the age of 18 he was offered a situation in Bradford, and left London for that town in the early part of 1874. After filling various positions, he received the appointment in 1885 of Canadian representative of one of the largest houses in the Bradford trade, and continued in that position until 1893, when the loss of his sight compelled him to relinquish his post. During his many trips across the Atlantic he made the acquaintance of several Irishmen, who, leaving home without means or friends, have made positions for themselves in the New World. Like most Atlantic travellers, Mr. Sullivan has many stories to tell of things that

happened on ship-board, but the most exciting, and no doubt, most interesting to Irishmen, was his trip with Mr. O'Brien on board the Umbria in 1887, when Mr. O'Brien went to Canada to denounce the evictor of Luggacurran. The excitement began at Queenstown, where thousands were gathered on the quay waiting the arrival of the mail train. When the train steamed in, Mr. O'Brien was quickly observed at the door of a carriage, and was immediately surrounded by a cheering throng. After speaking to the crowd for some time, he came on board the tender, amid the cheers of the people. Umbria was reached, about an hour behind time, the growling was loud and deep at him who had caused the delay. Mr. O'Brien it was soon seen had few friends among the saloon passengers. Many angry scenes took place between Mr. O'Brien's friends and the Tory saloon passengers, which reached a climax on Monday evening, when shortly after dinner, those who were on deck heard a voice shouting through the darkness, "Is that the Umbria?" Being told that it was a further question was asked, "Have you William O'Brien on board?" Then the Tory mob howled, and from a score of throats went forth the answer, "No; we threw him overboard at Queenstown." In the midst of the tumult Mr. O'Brien came on deck with the few friends he had gathered round him, and on all sides were heard "Cheers for Lansdowne," and "God save the Queen." Mr. O'Brien himself in describing this scene tells us that in the midst of their singing of "God save the Queen," was heard the loud baritone voice of Mr. Sullivan, of Bradford, singing, "God save Ireland." When at last the tender, chartered by Mr. O'Brien's friends, was permitted to come alongside, and Mr. O'Brien expressed his intention of going on board, it was Mr. Sullivan who accompanied him to the lower deck, whence he was transferred. They met again a week after in Toronto, the scene of such dastardly attacks by the Orangemen. Mr. Sullivan began his active political work in Irish politics in 1880, when he joined the Bradford Branch of the Land League, and was shortly afterwards elected a member of the committee, and since 1881 has at various times held every official position of the local branch. As a public speaker, he has often been called upon to advocate the cause of Ireland, and at election times has been able to render valuable assistance to both local and Parliamentary candidates, who were friends of the Irish movement. In 1893 he suffered the loss of his sight. The affliction fell upon him in the city of Hamilton, Ontario, at which place he was just starting a season's trip. For six weeks he lay in the hospital there, under the care of Dr. Osborne, and the good Sisters of St. Joseph, of whose kindness and attention he speaks in terms of the highest praise. He left the hospital, his sight being but partially restored, and has never fully recovered. To most men, so terrible an

affliction with all the bright hopes for the future blasted, all notions of political work would have come to an end. But it was not so with Mr. Sullivan. In January, 1894, he was elected President of his branch of the I.N.L., and since that time has been as energetic in the cause of Ireland as before. The sympathy of his friends in Canada was shown by a very handsome testimonial contributed by a very large circle of friends, and the appreciation of his fellow countrymen in Bradford was expressed at the beginning of 1896, when they presented him with a sum of 100 guineas as a mark of their sympathy in his affliction, and their appreciation of his work for Ireland.



DR. W. P. O'MEARA, SOUTHAMPTON,

DR. W. P. O'MEARA was born at Bruff, Co. Limerick, in 1862. He was educated at the Christian Brothers' Schools and St. Patrick's Seminary, of that town. His studies in medicine were made at Dublin, London and Edinburgh. At Edinburgh, after a brilliant examination, he obtained his diplomas, and began shortly afterwards to practise in London. In 1890 he removed to Southampton, where he has acquired an extensive practice.

At an early age Dr. O'Meara identified himself with the Irish national cause, and, when a student in Dublin, was one of the founders of the D'Alton Williams Students' Society, and also of the O'Connell Branch of the Irish National League. His earlier instincts did not forsake him, for on coming to Southampton, he founded, and was first president of the Grattan Branch of the Irish National League of Great Britain. This is one of the most effective and vigorous branches in the South of England. He has been its president for six years. Besides, he has been active in municipal affairs, and is a prominent member of the Board of Guardians, and in all elections has rendered valuable service to the Liberal Party. In turn, they showed their appreciation of his aid, by electing him to the important position of Surgeon to the Borough Police Force, an exceptional honour, considering his brief residence there-in all, three years. Dr. O'Meara is physically a splendid specimen of an Irishman, and his success in life is a further proof of the capability of his countrymen, when untrammeled by prejudice, to attain the highest positions.

REV. PETER O'LEARY.

The Rev. Peter O'Leary, P.P., Castlelyons, County Cork, was born at Liscarragam, half way between Millstreet and Macroom. He was ordained priest in 1867, and hardly had be entered on his mission when he was brought into direct conflict with the Feniau movement, and the ville calumny of Fenianism against the Irish Catholic priesthood. The priests of Ireland could not lend their approval to a physical force scheme against the British Government, and for this reason, Fenianism proclaimed that their object in thus withholding their assent was the more to enslave their people, while



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TUNNEL ON KENMARE ROAD.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

gaining for themselves some personal advantage, and thereby forfeiting every claim to patriotism. This calumny had to be borne with and many well meaning people accepted it as indisputable. When, however, Mr. Davitt started the Land League, a platform was constructed on which priests and people could stand together, and openly and firmly express their views.

Father O'Leary was on the mission in Chareville at that time, and was among the first to ascend the new platform. It was a great relief to the priesthood of Ireland that they had now an opportunity

given them of clearly proving that their aversion to physical force movements arose neither from an affection for British power as exercised in Ireland, nor from fear of any personal trouble or danger. The period which elapsed between the founding of the Land League, and the Parnell crisis was a time of undimmed glory both for people and priests in Ireland, and Father O'Leary, during all that period, made every effort to be in the front rank among the workers in the cause. The Parnell crisis, however, proved a terrible blow to its onward march, and with it came disorder and disorganisation in all their varied forms. At length the great Convention was summoned with a view to unity and the restoration of order. The good priest attended and acted well his part in endeavouring to restablish national unity, and heal the differences which had destroyed the efficiency of the Irish Parliamentary Party.



ON THE LIFFEY, ABOVE POULAPHUCA.

REV. M. B. KENNEDY.

THE Rev. M. B. Kennedy, under a mild exterior and great gentleness of manner, is one of the most daring and fearless of Irish patriots. Born in Mitchelstown, in 1852, and receiving his early education at the Christian Brothers' Schools, he felt himself at an early age called



MUIREDACH'S CROSS, MONASTERBOICE, CO. LOUTH.

to the ecclesiastical state. His studies were made in the Irish College, Paris, and he was ordained priest in 1878. His health was somewhat infirm during his entire course. After some time on the Liverpool Mission, he was transferred to his native diocese, Cloyne, and appointed to the curacy of Youghal. The struggle on the Ponsonby Estate roused him to action, and he continued to espouse the part

of the tenantry until his departure for Meelin in 1887. At Meelin, the Plan of Campaign was just established, and he felt constrained to take the people's part. After the Coercion Act came into operation, he was thrice prosecuted, and in all sentenced to eight months' imprisonment, serving six months of the eight. But the prosecutions and imprisonment did not in the least degree abate his ardour, and he continued to help and encourage the people, denouncing landlordism whenever he felt it his duty to do so. The fight in both instances ended in victory for the people. The struggle was a severe strain upon Father Kennedy's health, but it is gratifying to have to record that he has since become strong and vigorous. His curacy, as we write, is Blarney, within easy reach of famed Blarney Castle. and its magic stone. Happily he does not require the aids to eloquence which the latter is supposed to impart. An are agreed that his speech at the Irish Race Convention was a clear and eloquent statement of the position of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and their claims to the support of the people.

M. O'MEARA.

Mr. M. O'Meara, was born near Dundalk, in County Louth, 11th July, 1835. He formed his connection with the Irish National Board of Education in Warrenpoint, as early as 1852. In 1854 he became principal in Omeath National School, being subsequently trained in Dublin, and called to special class, a privilege which he was forced to decline owing to delicate health. Some years later he studied navigation and nautical astronomy, obtaining first-class certificates.

An ardent lover of his country, he entered the field of politics on retiring from teaching in 1895. His merits were soon recognised, and in 1896 he was elected Poor Law Guardian for the Dundalk Union. He attended the Irish Race Convention, and suggested the necessity for limiting the speeches in length, which had become, in some cases, a little tiresome. On his return he established a branch of the Irish National Federation, despite much persistent and influential opposition. This action of his at Omeath, as well as the great demonstration organised there, over which he presided, attracted a great deal of attention in the Press of the United Kingdom, inasmuch as this was regarded as one of Mr. Healy's strongholds; Mr. John Dillon attended, and the meeting was successful, notwithstanding a great deal of open and determined hostility.

JOHN B. O'HIGGINS, BOSTON.

MR. JOHN B. O'HIGGINS, who just arrived from Boston, displaying some of the fatigue and worry, incident to an Atlantic voyage, succeeded as speaker to the Hon. Edward Blake at the Irish Race Convention. The position was not one to be envied, under the most favourable of circumstances. But Mr. O'Higgins acquitted himself very satisfactorily, considering the great odds against which he had to contend, and ringing cheers greeted his efforts.

He was born in Mogeela, County Cork, Ireland, in the year 1860, receiving the ordinary education of the National School of his native



BRAY HEAD, CO. WICKLOW.

parish. But he endeavoured to acquire a more extended course, and applied himself privately to the study of English literature, Irish history, Irish topography, and the Irish language. On coming to Boston, he attended the Boston Evening High School, and also the School of the Young Men's Christian Association, so that he was in time, enabled to secure a distinguished position on the Press. In 1881, in his twenty-first year, he was elected secretary to the Castlemartyr Land League, a position which he held until leaving for America in 1887. He was interested in the Gaelic Athletic Club of his native parish, and organised the Wolfe Tone Hurling Club.

Like most of his countrymen he was obliged at first to engage in whatever employment came his way, and thus was at various times, in the railway department, in the office of the Boston Pilot, in that of Donahoe's Magazine, and in the extensive stores of Messrs. Brown, Durrell and Co. He was the founder of that department in the Boston Pilot devoted to the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The idea was successful, and soon all the Catholic papers of the country, which are Irish in tone, followed the example. Afterwards he became labour editor of the Post, a position which he held until establishing the Hibernian Printing and Publishing Company. While on the staff of the Post he represented that paper at A.O.H. Conventions in Omaha and Detroit being delegate at the former, and had the honour of seconding the resolution to grant \$50,000 to establish a Gaelic Chair at the Catholic University, Washington.

Mr. O'Higgins was most energetic in founding the Irish National Alliance, in Chicago, 1895, and has also taken part in founding branches of that society, even in the Queen's dominions. On many occasions he has publicly helped the Irish cause in Boston, having held the presidency of the Wolfe Tone Branch of the Irish National Federation in that city. He has been also interested in Irish athletics, and acteu as referee in many hotly contested matches. Founder and president of Division 15, A.O.H., Jamaica Plain, he has been moreover, vice-president of Division 25, Boston, and commander of the Hibernian Knights of Division 25.

On leaving Boston, to attend the Irish Race Convention, the Knights presented him with a gold watch and chain, and on his return, he received a hearty welcome from that body. In April, 1897, he was elected president of Division 43, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Boston, and this is the best answer that can be made to those who asserted he would be severely dealt with by that body, for the part he had taken while in Ireland on the Irish question.



TIMOTHY MICHAEL HEALY, M.P.

MR. T. M. Healy did not attend the Irish Race Convention, but in its connection a great deal of interest was centred in him, and his name was frequently referred to throughout the proceedings. It may not be out of place, therefore, to give here a short account of him, who, whatever may be his shortcornings, is an able and gifted statesman. Mr. Healy, who is the present M.P. for North Louth, is son of Mr. M. Healy, Bantry, County Cork, and was born May 17th, 1855. He married the daughter of Mr. T. D. Sullivan in 1882, and became barrister in 1885. He was M.P. for Wexford, 1880-83; for Monaghan, 1883-85; for South Derry, 1885-86; and North Longford, 1887-92. He is brother of Mr. Maurice Healy, M.P., Cork City and of Mr. Thomas Joseph Healy, M.P., North Wexford. The following interesting interview took place between Mr. Healy and the special correspondent of the Daily Chroniele, September 3rd, 1896, in reference to the great Convention:

Interest in the National Convention ended last night so far as the outside world is concerned. So I have spent to-day in trying to find out something as to the outside opinion of the Convention. I found Mr. Healy at his villa at Howth, sunning himself by the blue waters of Dublin Bay, apparently indifferent to conventions, votes of censure, or anything else—beyond fresh air and rest.

"How is it." I asked, "that you are not at the Convention?" "The reason is this," was the reply. "It was decided by the vote of the Party to have the invitations to the Convention issued by the Committee of the Party, and by the Executive of the National Federation. Now they expelled me from the Committee of the Party, and from the Executive of the Federation. After this they abolished the Committee of the Party, but there were still a number of my friends on the Executive of the Federation. They summoned that body to meet in London at the House of Commons; so that none out members of Parliament could attend, for it was impossible to expect men to come from Cork or Connemara to an executive meeting at Westminster. Such a course of procedure meant the packing of the Convention with a clique of Mr. Dillon's own personal followers. Therefore, I declined to have anything to do with it.

"Then again," continued Mr. Healy, "the affairs of the Irish Party are the affairs of the Irish Party alone. There are men from Canada and the United States at this Convention. They are very estimable men, no doubt, and men who wish well to Ireland—although I confess to learning the names of most of them this week for the

first time—but I decline to admit their right to interfere with the representatives of the Irish constituencies. The constituencies and the constituencies alone have the right to say what policy their elected representatives should follow. I am myself elected by an Irish constituency, and by my constituents alone will I be judged."

"Then you refuse to go before any Convention?"

"Not at all," Mr. Healy replied. "If a National Convention were called fairly by parish meetings duly convened in the usual manner, I would abide by the findings of the gathering, but of no other. The troubles in the Irish Party are purely internal matters; they could not be the concern of any Convention of the Irish Race. It was on account of the Kerry election that I was turned out of



HOWTH CASTLE, CO. DUBLIN.

the Committee of the Irish Party. There Mr. Dillon went down and held a Convention to get his candidate nominated outside the constituency itself. I insisted upon a proper county convention being held, the choice of which should be unfettered."

"Then you don't think that there is any chance of a rapprochement between the different sections of the Irish Party as the outcome of the present Convention?"

"I certainly do not. I should say that the result will just be the reverse. Mr. Dillon's speech yesterday was an absurd speech. You must remember that he said six months ago that anybody who attempted to discuss the rival claims of Dillon or Healy to the Irish leadership would be coughed down or run out of the room. Yet in the face of that statement he got up and found fault with me because I did not attend the Convention."

"Then what should be done in order to get together a united

Irish Party under one leader such as we had in 1891?"

"The first thing to be done," said Mr. Healy, "is to get rid of all those who have any pretensions to leadership. My name and Mr. Dillon's name are mere shibboleths of faction. We are both on that ground disqualified for leadership. It is hopeless to expect anything like union under such circumstances. We are the leaders of sides in what almost amounts to a civil war. How can there be union?"

"I hear you offered to serve under Mr. Sexton?"

"Yes, I did; but Mr. Sexton treated my overtures as hypocritical. Mr. Sexton has gone away just now and remains, as it were, under water."

"But what are the prospects of a Parnellite union?"

"There are none. The Parnellites are ready for union, but at a Parnellite price, which is the acceptance of Mr. John Redmond as chairman. The Anti-Parnellites are for union, but at an Anti-Parnellite price, which is that the reunited party should elect the chairman. As Mr. Dillon's followers would be in a majority this would, of course, mean that he would be chairman; and even if Mr. Dillon did accept Mr. Redmond's leadership how long would the arrangement last? Until the next annual election of chairman."

"You have been charged at the Convention with breaking the

party pledge of the Irish party."

"I know," said Mr. Healy; "and considering that I am the author of the pledge itself, this is rather absurd. The pledge is to sit, act, and vote with the Party. I have challenged my opponents over and over again to point out a single instance in which I failed to do this. If the Irish Party duly assembled declare by a majority that I have broken my pledges I will resign my seat, and go to my constituents the very next day. But I am not breaking my pledge when I protest against the Tsardom of Mr. Dillon."

"Pardon me, though," I said, "but you had something like a

Tsardom under Mr. Parnell."

"Mr. Parnell," was the reply, "never took action, except on two occasions, without consulting his colleagues. One of these occasions was in 1881, on the second reading of the Land Act; and then, you must remember, there was no pledge in existence, for I did not invent it until 1885. Parnell wished to abstain from voting against our wishes and opinions. We obeyed his orders with the exception of Mr. O'Connor Power. The other occasion was during the Galway election in 1886. Then Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who had been talking

so loudly about unity, wrote offering to resign his seat if I would do the same, as a protest against Captain O'Shea's candidature."

"All these squalid details are very painful. How will they affect the cause of Irish Nationalism?"

"Oh, my dear sir," said Mr. Healy, "these are mere commonplaces of Irish politics. They don't affect our cause one bit. But consider our position. The Liberals were three years in office, and we got nothing out of them. Of course, as a party, they made enormous sacrifices on our behalf; but first of all Lord Rosebery went back on Home Rule. His speech on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords showed that he was not at heart a Home Ruler, and when he became Prime Minister he made his 'predominant partner' speech. What happened during the existence of the Liberal Government from 1892 to 1895 is a standing warning to Ireland on the Home Rule question."

"A warning against what?"

"A warning," was the reply, "to be cautious and wary. Home Rule for Ireland has been shown to be unobtainable under these circumstances, especially as the Liberals have shown that they are unable to get over the opposition of the House of Lords. Now, as having the care of a very poor and a very backward country, we are justified in obtaining—in fact, it is our bounden duty to get—all we can out of the Tories whilst they are in office. That will admittedly be for some five years. During that time we shall be at the mercy of the Tories, and the cause of Ireland will be barred legislatively by a Tory administration. I look to these five or six years as a training, a seed-time so to speak."

"What will the Liberals think about this? They won't consider

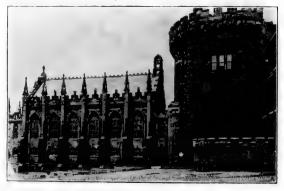
you are very grateful."

"I know," said Mr. Healy, "I have been charged with ingratitude to the Liberal party. I deny that the charge is well founded. I cannot feel anything else but gratitude to the Liberal party, and I believe that their action was limited by their powers. But I cannot help seeing, on the other hand, that among the Tories there is no longer that acerbity that we formerly experienced. Even in Ireland, where the manifestations of high Toryism are always the most bitter, I can detect a changed feeling. I believe we could proceed, if our party were properly led, to induce the Tory party into making conconsiderable concessions in the direction of local reforms."

"Local government?" I asked.

"Well," said Mr. Healy, "I prefer to leave it vaguely expressed, lest I might frighten the Tories. But all this is so much gain. And the use that we make of these reforms will show the Tory party that they can safely go forward with further progress."

The meeting of the Convention to-day was marked by the same enthusiasm as on the previous day, but the proceedings call for no particular remark. I had a chat with Dean Harris, who attends to represent the Archbishop of Toronto. I gather from the Dean that the foreign delegates are very much impressed by the Convention, and that their evident feeling is to go back and recommend to all that financial support from abroad should go to Mr. Dillon. They came over entirely unbiassed, but they remain converts to the Irish Parliamentary Party under Mr. Dillon's leadership.



CHAPEL BOYAL AND RECORD TOWER, DUBLIN CASTLE.

T. HARRINGTON, M.P.

AMONG those on whom the Irish Race Convention has had most beneficial results may be prominently mentioned the name of Mr. T. Harrington, M.P. He was for many years the leading light in the Parnellite Party, and admittedly one of the ablest advocates of the Parnell policy, and his defection is a dreadful blow to the Parnellites. At the time we write, he is not a strict adherent of any political party, but he is busily engaged in effecting unity among all sections of Irish Nationalists, and his efforts have been wonderfully successful. Mr. Harrington is a barrister; has sat in Parliament for the Harbour Divi-



DEVIL'S GLEN, CO. WICKLOW.

sion, Dublin, since 1885, in the Parnellite interest; is hon. secretary Irish National League; born at Castletownbere, County Cork, 1851; son of Denis Harrington and Eileen O'Sullivan. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin. Established the Kerry Sentinel in 1877; took a prominent part in the Land League and National League movements; was M.P. for County Westmeath, 1883; called to the Irish Bar 1887; and was one of the counsel for Mr. Parnell at the Special Commission, 1888-89.

The following appeal which appeared in United Ireland of

May 1st, 1897, was issued by Mr. Harrington, to the members of the Irish National League:—

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

It is now close upon fifteen years since the Irish National League was established by Charles Stewart Parnell at a public Convention in the Antient Concert Rooms. Surrounded by the men who had borne the brunt of the Land League struggle, who had faced eviction, dragooning, and imprisonment in the assertion of popular rights, he gave to the country a new policy and a new programme to replace that which the Government had suppressed. To the new organisation thus established by the free voice of the people he and his colleagues again devoted that energy, fearlessness, and enthusiasm which in a few brief years had crippled landlord tyranny in Ireland, and extorted the Land Act of '81 from a hostile British Parliament.

The Irish National League was met at the very threshold of its existence with proclamations, coercion, prosecutions, and the other machinery with which we are made familiar in the suppression of popular liberty in this country. Since then five successive Governments, backed by the resources of Dublin Castle, have tried their

strength against it in vain.

It grew and flourished in the midst of coercion and proclamations, until, by the exercise of both courage and caution, it became the most powerful political organisation which any country in the world could boast of. For the Irish farmer it obtained the Land Acts of '87 and '91, as well as generous reductions in rent every year upon thousands of estates even where the rents had been fixed by legal tribunals.

The tenants who had been evicted in the struggle received from it generous support, the encouraging sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, and the assurance that none of their neighbours would consent

to take the farm from which they had been driven forth.

The General Election of 1885, following immediately on the extension of the Franchise, found the country so well organised that every constituency in three of the Provinces and a clear majority of the fourth returned a Nationalist representative to Parliament. The spirit which the organisation called forth in Ireland was imitated in every land where our people had found a home, until the Irish race all the world over were united as one man in pushing forward the claim of their country to National Self-Gevernment. To break down the organisation of the National League seemed to be the only hope which the Unionist Party had of stemming the progress Home Rule was making in the constituencies of Great Britain, and every device that malice and hatred could invent was employed to weaken or discredit the organisation.

But out of every such ordeal it came unscathed, and you who remember the prolonged inquiry of the *Times* Special Commission will not judge lightly of the services which it rendered to the National cause. When the fatal division of November, 1890, came and the Irish ranks were severed and broken, one of the first duties of the Irish leader was to safeguard the organisation which had so proudly borne the banner to the very threshold of victory. In July, '91, at one of the most representative conventions held during the whole National struggle, the amended constitution of the Irish National League was put forward by him clause after clause for discussion, and amendment, and formally approved of. In commending it to the Irish people on the occasion, he used these memorable words:

"We shall have in that organisation all the earnestness and courage of the country—of men who believe in the future of the Irish nation—of all those who believe in the right of Ireland's representatives and the Irish people to independence and to independent judgment. That organisation, as this convention shows, will constitute an overwhelming and conquering body which, though it may not win to-day, will live until it does win."

That is the organisation which a small assemblage of gentlemen, gathered in the Oak Room of the Mansion House a few days ago, took upon themselves to suppress without consultation with the country, and without any reference to the men on whose shoulders fell the chief burden of maintaining it during the long period of the struggle. Not only are the burning words with which Parnell commended it to his fellow-countrymen forgotten, but his policy is openly discredited and his organisation cast aside. Deeply as it pains me to raise my voice in protest against a course so foolishly and so hastily entered upon by the majority of my colleagues, I deem it my duty, nevertheless, to warn you against the invasion of all popular and constitutional rights involved in the course that has been taken. Popular political organisations are not made that leaders may put them on and take them off like gloves. One of their chief uses is to keep leaders up to the duties they have undertaken to discharge; and the Irish people would prove themselves utterly unfit for the exercise of those great rights they are struggling for if they tamely allowed any political leaders, however worthy or however tried, to suppress or change the popular organisation without first consulting the voice of the nation. The right of any man or body of men to start a new political organisation I do not for a moment call in question-much as I deplore the frequency with which such experiments have been tried upon the Irish people. But when gentlemen who have been delegated with no authority, and who have had no opportunities of consulting the

people, take upon themselves to suppress the National organisation, then, in my judgment, such a decision, to use a memorable phrase, "goes forth without authority and comes back without respect,"

To the officers and members of the National League branches throughout the country I appeal to stand firm by Parnell's principles and Parnell's organisation. Offer no factious opposition to anyone who may be disposed to try the new organisation, but work up and recognise your own. Now is the time to limit or narrow the boundary lines of the popular organisation in Ireland. Slowly, perhaps, but surely, the mind of the country is realising the frightful mistakes that have been committed in the recent past. Men are learning to concern themselves more deeply with the future of their country and its cause than with the incidents which led to disruption and severance in the National forces. The noble policy of union and combination upon lines of independence and self-respect is gaining in popularity every day. By encouraging and fostering that spirit, you may rely upon one who knew Parnell well that you are pursuing the policy which he would pursue if he were amongst us to-day. Vengeance or reprisals on any section of his fellow-countrymen he would never commit himself to. The strength of his great movement was gathered from the solid combination which he effected of the Irish race, not alone in Ireland but all over the world. Be it your duty at this supreme crisis in your country's history to profit by the lesson he taught and to imitate his example of patriotism. Instead of abandoning the organisation which he established, and which with his leadership brought the Irish cause almost to the very pinnacle of success, take immediate steps to strengthen and solidify it. Open your doors to all the old colleagues and comrades who fought side by side with you in the heroic struggle of the recent past. The same issues are still before the country, and the same combination of forces in Irish politics can carry them to final triumph. The position of the evicted tenants, amnesty to our imprisoned fellow-countrymen, justice and fruits of his labour to the Irish farmer, the encouragement and development of industry in our country, and, above all, the future of our National cause, speak eloquently to us of the vital necessity for hearty co-operation upon the old lines. Avoid recriminations and fruitless discussions of the past. Turn your talents and your energies to combine the people as Parnell combined them, to push to the front not the cause of this party or that party, this leader or that leader, but the cause of Ireland a Nation. With such a policy you will win for yourself and your cause the respect of your opponents, the hearty support of the masses of Irishmen at home, and the proud admiration of the men of your race in every land and in every clime.

CHEVALIER JOHN HENEY, OTTAWA, CANADA.

JOHN HENEY was born in Portaliffe, County Cavan, Ireland, April 16th, 1821, his parents, Peter Heney and Harriett, his wife, whose maiden name was Conarty, both being natives of the same place. John, the subject of this sketch, emigrated to Canada, in the summer of 1843. He was engaged in the leather business in Ireland, and continued it for some time in Ottawa with success. In 1868 he began contracting for Government works, which he still follows. He has taken great interest in Municipal affairs, and in a creditable manner served at the Council Board for a period of thirty-seven years. He has been styled the "Father of Temperance," and he has been regarded with great distinction by the Protestant and Catholic Temperance Societies, and in recognition of his services, His Holiness Pope



BUNDORAN, CO. DONEGAL.

Leo XIII. has conferred on him the title of Chevalier of the Holy Sepulchre. In religion he is a Roman Catholic, and most tolerant to all sects. It is with great pride he has to say that he was present at the laying of the corner stone of all the churches of the city of Ottawa. Personally, Mr. Heney is a self-made man, and in every respect is universally esteemed for his honour, integrity, and straightforwardness, qualities which have distinguished him through life. During his attendance as delegate at the Irish Race Convention, Mr. Heney was the victim of a very bitter attack by the Irish Daily Independent. Dean Harris espoused his cause; and the substance of attack and defence is given elsewhere in this volume. The Independent refused to make apology, but it is stated that Mr. John Redmond, whose connections with that paper are well known, received on this account, rough handling from the Irishmen of Ottawa, which he visited during a recent lecturing tour in Canada.

VERY REV. JOHN J. CANON McCARTAN.

We much regret that time and space prohibit our giving at sufficient length an account worthy of the esteemed and sealous parish priest of Donaghmore. Among those whose connection with the Irish Race Convention attracted great attention in the Press, may be prominently mentioned Canon McCartan. He made no wild effort at oratory, but very composedly said his say, explaining his views in a manner that commanded attention. Towards the close of his speech, however, the Canon pursued a method of interrogation, which was unusual and which, by reason of the answering crowd, created much confusion.



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[W. Lawrence, Dublin

The chairman was obliged to interfere, prohibiting this method of procedure, and wherefore went forth the wild cry of the hostile Press, and the enemies of the Convention, that all liberty and freedom of speech were crushed, the very moment the least spark of independence manifested itself. It was clear in the present instance, to the unbiassed, that no effort was made to crush freedom, or independence, but to preserve order, and afford, on the contrary, the speaker a hearing, which owing to the responses of the vast assembly, was becoming impossible. The pith of the Canon's entire speech was independence of all English political parties, and by preaching this Gospel he hoped to establish a platform wide enough for all Irish Nationalists. It is stated that Canon McCartan had been for some

time previous to the Convention an invalid, and well-nigh rose from a bed of illness to attend the great assembly, and, as best he could,

aid in serving the Irish cause.

Very Rev. John J. Canon McCastan, who is a priest of the Archdiocese of Armagh, was born in the parish of Ballymacnab, County Armagh, in 1842. He was ordained priest in his twenty-fifth year, his studies having been made a Maynooth, and was appointed shortly afterwards to the curacy of the parish of Kildress. Here he laboured for many years, moving amongst the people, encouraging them in their difficulties, and solacing them in their troubles. He was deeply interested in the education of the young, visiting constantly the schools, and not infrequently, personally, superintending the secular and religious education. Through his zeal and energy in no small degree, the parish owns the beautiful parochial church, which is equal, if not superior to any church in the raral districts of the Archdiocese. The people in the parish of Kildress, still remember his many labours with gratitude, and love to repeat his name with the greatest veneration.

A career so energetic and self-sacrificing is destined, sooner or later, to receive its recognition from the proper quarter, and thus, Father McCartan was appointed at a comparatively early age parish priest of Donaghmore, County Tyrone, an appointment which proved the esteem in which he was held by the Archbishop of Armagh. He was shortly afterwards raised to the dignity of Canon. Over this important parish Canon Mcdartan still presides, and while occupied with the care of a large Catholic population, and as earnest and as hardworking as in his early curate days, he endeavours to find a spare hour to devote to the cause of his country. He is not only a sympathiser, but he is a worker, and has more than once sealed his convictions with his purse. He has been known to pay a subscription of £50 to the National Fund, a goodly sum at one payment for an Irish priest, who is never blessed with an overflow of this world's goods. The Canon, it may be mentioned, is endowed with considerable strength of mind, and as soon as he discovers the path of duty, he is deterred by no obstacle, but pursues that course, even though it should cost him the loss of esteemed friends. His recent part in Irish politics attests to this trait in his character, for the policy to which he is devoted, is not universal nor is it admired in clerical circles in his vicinity. Yet he adheres firmly to his own views. But it is pleasing to learn owing to his warmth and sincerity of heart, which are universally recognised, he has lost no friends in consequence. Canon McCartan is an excellent type of the Irish soggarth, pious, zealous, and patriotic. May he be long spared to his people, who admire him for his ability and sincerity.

HUGH MURPHY, GLASGOW,

Mr. Hugh Murphy was born at Newtownbutler, County Fermanagh, forty-one years ago, and left Ireland when eight years of age. He joined the Home Government Association in 1872, and in 1874 the Association determined to form branches in the different parts of the city of Glasgow, with a Central Council, formed of four delegates from each of these various branches. Of one of the branches Mr. Murphy became secretary at the exceptionally early age of nineteen. He acted for four years as secretary, and afterwards joined the '98 Club. On the formation of the "Michael Davitt" Branch of the Land League, he became a member, and afterwards secretary. At this time the "No Rent Manifesto" was issued by the Irish leaders, and the branches received instructions from the executive to pass no resolutions endorsing the "Manifesto." The "Michael Davitt" branch,



THE QUAYS, DUBLIN.

however, disregarded the mandate, and resolutions were proposed endorsing the "Manifesto," and carried by a majority of 500 to 1. For this reason the branch was cut off, but after a few months was again acknowledged. Shortly afterwards, the "Home Government" and the "Michael Davitt" Branches were merged into one, and since then, no branch in Great Britain has done more for the old cause. Mr. Murphy was elected president twelve years ago, and retained that position ever since, except for a few months' interval. At the Irish Race Convention it supplied fourteen delegates. He also takes a lively interest in Trade Union matters, and was accordingly complimented by being appointed president of the society, the first instance, in which a Catholic and an Irishman was elected to that position. This honour he retained until some two years ago. Mr. Murphy delivered a very effective speech at the Irish Race Convention.

MR. THOMAS LOUGHLIN, BRADFORD.

The subject of our sketch was born in Bradford, on the 6th November, 1866, of Irish parents. When a boy he attended St. Mary's Roman Catholic Schools in that town, and when nine years of age gained 4 Free Scholarship. Owing to the death of his father, Mr. Loughlin was compelled to make his own way at an early age, but attended night school at the Mechanics' Institute, where he earned another Free Scholarship. In 1883 he became connected with the Central Branch



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GLENSHESK, CO. ANTRIM.

W. Lawrence, Dublin

of the Irish National League in Bradford (now there are five), and has been connected with one or other of the branches ever since. Secretarial work was at once found for him in connection with the numerous meetings held to protest against Coercion. On the introduction of the Home Rule Measure in 1886, Mr. Loughlin was called upon to defend that policy in various debating societies in the town. Shortly after the formation of the Wolfe Tone Branch I.N. League in 1885, he was appointed financial secretary, and has remained in connection with that branch ever since, while it has grown to have a membership of several hundreds and greatly enlarged its premises. He has represented the Wolfe one Branch at the following Irish

National League of Great Britain Conventions: Birmingham, 1887; Bradford, 1892; Leeds, 1895; Dublin Irish Race Convention, 1896. He was one of the secretaries for the Convention, banquet and meeting, held in Bradford in 1892. Along with Mr. W. S. Burke, journalist, now of Liverpool, then of Bradford, Mr. Loughlin organised in August, 1893, the Bradford Irish Literary Society, and got up for three seasons an excellent programme of lectures, debates and conversaziones.

Mr. Loughlin has lectured on "Ballad Poetry of Ireland," "Thomas Davis," "The Volunteer Movement," "Daniel O'Connell, Orator and Statesman," "The Life of Wolfe Tone," "Who fears to speak of '98," and taken part in debates with Mr. W. S. Burke on "Poetry v. Prose," "Physical v. Moral Force." The subject of our sketch knows nearly all the poetry of the Young Ireland movement. Mr. Loughlin has at the invitation of his fellow Nationalists in Yorkshire and Lancashire addressed meetings in Leeds, Manchester, Halifax, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Keighley, Oldham, Shipley, and all the branches in Bradford, and a place on the programme is always found for him at Irish Nationalist meetings in Bradford. Mr. Loughlin felt very strongly the pointed articles in the Irish Catholic on the Irish voters of Bradford at the last General Election, and acted a secretary to the large indignation meeting of Bradford Irishmen held to a nounce those articles as "scurrilous and rabid." The Executive of the I.N.L. of Great Britain offered him a few months ago the posi ion of organiser in the Midland Counties of England, a position which he had to reluctantly decline. At present Mr. Loughlin is secretary for the united branches of the I.N.L. of Great Britain in Bradford, and treasurer of the Wolfe Tone branch in that town. His motto is "Nil Desperandum"; his poet, "Davis"; his country, "Ireland"; his religion, "Catholic."



REV. P. J. O'DONNELL, MONTREAL.

THE distinguished young Irish-Canadian priest, who attended the Irish Race Convention, is a native of Chateauguay County, Province of Quebec, where he was born in the year 1856. His parents who came from County Donegal, Ireland, emigrated to Canada many years ago, where, by untiring industry, they made for themselves a comfortable hcme. Father O'Donnell, it is stated, is a relation of Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, and made his studies at St. Teresa's College, a branch of the Laval University, which is but a short distance from Montreal. Subsequently he made his theological



From photo by

AASLEAGH, CONNEMARA.

IW. Lawrence, Dubiin

studies at the famed seminary of St. Sulpice, and was ordained priest by the late lamented Archbishop Fabre, of Montreal, with whom he was always held in the highest estimation.

He was for some time assistant priest at St. Ann's and St Anthony's, but was rapidly promoted, and is now pastor of St. Mary's, one of the most important and extensive parishes in the city of Montreal. He is an accomplished scholar, but the pressing duties of his populous parish, preclude the possibility of his devoting much time to literature. Though scholarly and literary, he

is at the same time possessed of great business capacity, managing with much tact and ability the people entrusted to his care, and reteresting himself not only in their spiritual, but also in their worldly concerns. He also takes a deep interest in the prosperity of the city generally, and is always ready to take part in any scheme for its progress and advancement. Charity and mildness are his distinguishing characteristics, but he is unflinching when principle is at stake. He abhors dissimulation, and is noted for his unassuming piety, and all the qualities that adorn the priesthood. In consequence, he is held in high estimation by his people, and especially by the poor, whose friend and helper he has ever been. Father O'Donnell is truly devoted to the land of his birth, but bears in affectionate veneration that land wherein rest the ashes of his forefathers, and in him the Irish cause shall ever find a staunch friend.



POWERSCOURT WATERFALL, CO. WICKLOW.

JOSEPH DEVLIN.

BORN in February, 1872, in the West Division of Belfast, the constituency represented by Mr. Thomas Sexton, from 1886 until 1892, Joseph Devlin received his education at the Christian Brothers' Schools, Divis Street. Deeply imbued in his earliest youth, with patriotic sentiment, and an ardent admirer of the lives and writings of the great Irishmen of the past, he soon became a sympathiser with the sufferings of his countrymen. Familiar with the history of his native land and its struggles for liberty, he was fired with enthusiasm



From photo by]

DONEGALL PLACE, BELFAST

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

by the contest which was being carried on, with such triumphant success by Mr. Parnell, then in the zenith of his power. When the edict went out, after the passing of the Franchise Bill of 1884, that the Whig and Tory strongholds of Ulster were to be attacked, the Nationalists of Belfast rallied to the support of Mr. Sexton, who was selected to carry their banner in the West Division. This epoch marks the commencement of Mr. Devlin's connection with politics, as in company with other boys of his own years, he busied himself, after school hours, in lending such assistance as circumstances required to the advancement of the interests of the Nationalist

candidate. The same year saw the foundation of the Sexton Debating Society, which was established by youths ranging from fifteen to twenty years of age; in this organisation, on account of his readiness of speech, extensive knowledge, and precocious political instinct, young Devlin was recognised as the moving spirit and guiding force. The number of members who joined its roll, increased daily, until in the year 1886, it had become to be an acknowledged and influential factor in the National life of the city. Mr. Sexton attended a meeting of the Society held under the presidency of the subject of our sketch in this year, and in the course of his reply, observed, "I have listened to many speeches in my time, from many different people, but I have never listened to one which gave me more genuine pleasure or surprise, than that in which your Chairman addressed me. I regret the rule which obliges all members of the House of Commons to be at least twenty-one years of age. For, were it otherwise, I think the Chairman

of this meeting would be amongst us."

Although defeated in 1885, Mr. Sexton again fought West Belfast in the Nationalist interest at the General Election of 1886, and into this contest, which was crowned with success, young Devlin plunged with all the enthusiastic energy of his nature. Having been successively secretary and president of the Sexton Debating Society, he became connected with the Belfast Commercial Elocution Class: it was here that he found a congenial sphere for the exercise of his histrionic faculties, and so rapid was his progress that he succeeded in securing in a single year both the gold and silver medals, prizes awarded for proficiency, and much coveted by youthful aspirants to distinction. He next became secretary of this class, and continued to hold this position for two years until elected in 1889 to a similar office in the Belfast Young Ireland Society. The year 1888 saw his formal election, although only sixteen, to the Committee of the National League, and of this body he remained an active member. and an energetic worker until the Parnell crisis compelled the Nationalists of Belfast to consider their position. Of the National Committee which succeeded the National League, he acted as secretary, a post which he also continued to fill when the National Federation was called into existence to voice the sentiments of the Nationalists of Belfast. During these changing times he worked might and main to spread the light and show to Ulster the path of duty.

After the establishment of the Federation, he was unanimously elected in 1892 as Civic Delegate, a position to which he was again called in 1894, by the united voices of his fellow members of the Federation and of the Nationalists of the Northern Capital. During the existence of the National organisation, the best proof that can be

adduced of its representative character and efficiency, of the energy and resolute patriotism of its members, is to be found in the fact that, in addition to bearing the expense of a Parliamentary and several local Municipal contests, it has also collected and forwarded to the central executive in Dublin a sum amounting to over £3,000. The confidence reposed in Mr. Devlin by the leaders of the Irish Party has been illustrated on several occasions by the onerous duties which he has been called upon to fulfil. Foremost amongst them may be mentioned his management and supervision of the election in North Meath, which was held as a result of the petition of 1892. Here he set to work with characteristic courage and determination, and succeeded in completely frustrating the efforts of his opponents, by his eloquence, combined with his energy and sound judgment. When the General Election of 1892 was in full swing, the Unionists of Ulster conceived the somewhat far-reaching project of bringing to Belfast, several hundreds of English working-men delegates, to absorb in the atmosphere of the stronghold of Irish Unionists the opinions which they were anxious to have spread throughout Great Britain. At the shortest notice Mr. Devlin organised a monster demonstration at which the visitors were present and heard the Irish claim presented with such clearness and force, that the vast majority of them returned to England fully convinced of the justice and feasibility of the Nationalist demand. On two different occasions, within the last few years, Mr. Devlin has been invited to enter the House of Commons as an Irish member, and each time, despite the advice of his friends to the contrary, he has declined to avail himself of the honour.

Steadfast in the belief that the support of a united Party at Westminster is essential, to that aim he directs his efforts, and devotes his great talents to the service of his country, and claims no reward, but the satisfaction of feeling that he is contributing to the advancement of her cause.



HON. JOHN COSTIGAN, OTTAWA, CANADA.

It used to be said of the Geraldines, the De la Poers, and other great Anglo-Norman families who settled in Ireland many centuries ago, that they, in the persons of their descendants, ultimately became *Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores*, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." This is a saying founded on a great historic fact, but in later times, and especially in our own days, the saying may be applied to many descendants of Irishmen in the Colonial possessions of the British crown. Though born in the Dominion of Canada, no man who boasts of having first seen the light in



From photo by]

MINNAUN CLIFFS, ACHILL.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

the Emerald Isle, is a truer-hearted Irishman, or one who has given more proofs of devotion to Erin than the subject of this brief sketch, the Honourable John Costigan, a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, and a foremost member of the Dominion House of Commons. Mr. Costigan was born of a good stock at St. Nicholas, in the province of Quebec, on the 1st of February, 1835, and through his boyhood, and while a pupil at St. Anne's College, where he received his education, he gave many proofs of the firm and masterful strength of character, and integrity of resolution, which have since distinguished him in public as

well as in private life, gaining for him from political opponents, as well as from friends, the name of "Honest John Costigan." In early manhood Mr. Costigan was engaged in the lumbering business, and in this way acquired a very extensive knowledge of parts of the British North American possessions then little known, a knowledge which has since often served him. He evidently believed in an early marriage, for when only twenty he married Miss Harriet Ryan, daughter of Mr. J. R. Ryan, a worthy and respected resident of Grand Falls, in the province of New Brutswick.

Mr. Costigan early turned his thoughts to politics, and, prior to confederation, was elected to sit in the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, for the good old constituency of Victoria, which he represents at this day in the Parliament of Canada. He was then a young man of only twenty-six, and no better proof can be given of the excellence of his character, both as a man and a representative statesman. than the fact that since Confederation, at every general election, he has been returned for the same seat by overwhelming majorities, largely composed, in later years, of the sons of the men who first sent him to represent them in the popular chamber. Mr. Costigan's public career in his native country, will always be remembered for his intimate connection with two leading issues, commonly spoken of as the "New Brunswick School Question" and the "Costigan Irish Resolutions." It is not uninteresting to remember, now, at a time when the eyes of the English-speaking world are turned upon the people of Canada, wrestling with the "Manitoba School Question," that in the 'sixties, and 'seventies there was much trouble over the same question of education in the maritime provinces, especially in New Brunswick. John Costigan ardently championed the cause of the oppressed Catholic minority, and from his place in the House of Commons, on the 20th of May, 1872, moved an Address praying His Excellency, the Governor-General, to disallow the New Brunswick School Act, on the ground "that said law is unjust, and causes much uneasiness among the Roman Catholic population." This occasioned a great deal of discussion not only in the House, but throughout the country, in public, and in private, through the Press and on the platform, but no tangible result followed in the direction indicated by the mover of the address. Nothing daunted, however, the gallant Irishman, for so we love to call him, returned to the charge again and again, and kept up an agitation which influenced public opinion not only in the province of New Brunswick, but throughout the whole of the Canadian Confederation, to such an extent, that it may safely be asserted, to no man more than to the Honourable John Costigan, do the Catholics of New Brunswick owe such concessions in

the practical working out of the School Act, as have since, from time to time, been obtained by them.

It was, however, in the Session of 1882 that Mr. Costigan achieved his crowning distinction as an Irish patriot by moving in eloquent terms. and triumphantly carrying through the House of Commons by an unanimous vote, an address to Her Majesty the Queen, passed by the House on what are known to fame as the "Costigan Irish Resolutions," praying for Home Rule for the Kingdom of Ireland, for the release of the "suspects," and for other ameliorations of the condition of the people of the land of his fathers. The same address was carried through the Senate of Canada by an overwheliging majority, only six Senators recording their dissent. This achievement so endeared Mr. Costigan to the Irish people in Canada, and, indeed, to all friends of Home Rule the world over, that the great statesman, Sir John Alexander MacDonald, then Prime Minister of the Dominion, summoned the New Brunswick Irish patriot to the Councils of the Nation, and on the 23rd of May, 1882, Mr. Costigan was sworn of the Privy Council, and made Minister of Inland Revenue.

This portfolio Mr. Costigan held for by far the greater part of the fourteen years, in which he was a Minister of the Crown. Too much cannot be said in his praise as a Departmental Administrator and a man of affairs. Mr. Costigan became Secretary of State in the Thompson Government, holding that Ministry until the formation of the Government of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, immediately after the tragic death at Windsor Castle of the great statesman and jurist, Sir John Thompson, who has left a permanent impress upon the laws of the Dominion. Mr. Costigan then became Minister of Marine and "sheries, and so remained until the defeat of Sir Charles Tupper's short-lived Administration in the General Election of June. 1806.

The attendance of this distinguished Colonial Minister at the great Irish Race Convention held in Dublin is but one out of many proofs which he has afforded all his life of unflinching devotion to the cause of Ireland. From advocating that cause no inconvenience has ever deterred him; he has been instant in proclaiming "in season and out of season" the rights of Ireland; as a Minister of the Crown, overwhelmed with the cares of State, he never failed to find—one might almost say sometimes to make—time to attend every meeting to which he has been invited, to further the cause so dear to his heart. Nor was it by word or by pen alone, that he laboured; it is part of his claims to honour, that although so many years in the highest ranks of public life, Mr. Costigan is now, as he always was, a poor man; yet out of his means, such as they were, he has never failed to contribute—

too generously, in fact-to funds raised for Irish patriotic purposes. But it is the multitude of his private benefactions which endears him most to the people among whom he lives, and who know him best. No charitable cause ever appealed to him in vain. Heart and hand have ever been open to the claims of the widow and the orphan; and the Irish people of Canada know full well that no man of their race has done, in a suictly honourable way, more good than he in safeguarding the interests of that portion of the population, whose representative he was in the Cabinet. The people of Ireland will unite with the people of Canada in holding this truly good, self-sacrificing and distinguished man in grateful and in loving remembrance, and will wish him and his amiable life-partner many long years to come of usefulness and honour.



VIEW ON THE RIVER LIFFEY AT DUBLIN.

REV. JAMES CLANCY.

THE REV. JAMES CLANCY was born in Linnis, on the 3rd September, 1859. Educated at the Christian Brothers' Schools in that town, and afterwards at the Diocesan College, he entered the Irish College, Paris, in September, 1877, and after a distinguished course of studies, was ordained prie 'n October, 1882. Appointed immediately after to the curacy of U Teakle, Co. Clare, he has since filled curacies in Lower Feakle, Cc and in Cloughjordan and Lorrha, Co. Tipperary. In all these parishes he has endeared himself to the people by his zealous and sympathetic discharge of duty. He is a close student of Theology and a gifted preacher, and adds to the usual accomplishments of a Catholic priest, that of an exceptionally deep and extensive knowledge



ST. STEPHEN'S OREEN, DUBLIN.

of English literature. In public life, Father Clancy has been distinguished by an ardent nationalism, consistent and uncompromising. We may mention, in passing, that in his case such a spirit is hereditary. Since 1882 he has taken part in the National movement in all the districts in which his ministry was cast, conducting a working branch of the National organization, in the days of its legal suppression as well as in the time of its tolerated existence. He has often spoken at public meetings, both in Clare and Tipperary. He has also lectured occasionally; generally on some phase of Irish history, or Irish letters, and in the political polemics of recent years has contributed letters, both to the metropolitan and provincial Press, remarkable for lucid argument and conclusive force.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, EX-M.P.

In this sketch it is not our intention to treat very exhaustively of the distinguished subject, who has since 1883 filled so prominent a place in Irish politics, and who is known not only in Ireland, but throughout the English-speaking world and elsewhere. Mr. William O'Brien attended the Irish Race Convention, though not then a member of Parliament, and delivered a very effective and telling speech. One would think at times his gesture is extravagant, but he never fails in carrying with him the audience en masse, a pretty fair test of



PASS OF KYLEMORE.

oratory. He is not what the wiseacres call prudent, and is charged with making political blunders. In our days of carping criticism on Irish politics, it would be very difficult, indeed, to find any one, however prudent and far-seeing, to satisfy the popular standard. Whatever may be his political shortcomings, they are more than compensated by his many excellent qualities in private life, and his intentions which are always well meant.

Mr. William O'Brien, son of the late Mr. James O'Brien, Mallow, was born in 1852, and was educated at the Diocesan College, Cloyne,

and at the Queen's College, Cork. He represented the borough of Mallow from 1883, until, as a borough, it became extinct in 1885. He then became member for South Tyrone, defeating by a majority of 55, Captain Somerset Maxwell, Conservative. In 1886, on the occasion of the General Election, he was defeated by Mr. T. W. Russell, Unionist Liberal, who had a majority of 99. But he was forthwith returned unopposed for North-East Cork. He was elected for Cork city in 1892. Mr. O'Brien was one of the best known of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He was connected with *United Ireland* for some years, where his stirring articles kept alive the Irish political movement, but made him, in time, a suspect of the Government. In August, 1886, he attended the Chicago Convention as a delegate from the National League, he also visited Canada to arouse sympathy with the National cause but his mission was not generally successful.

In addressing the House, Mr. O'Brien was always fluent, and usually forcible, while at times he was bitter, and political opponents were careful to elude his reach. He has been once suspended for violating its rules, and has been imprisoned four times under the Coercion Act. It will be remembered he refused to don the prison garb, pointing out to the authorities the essential difference to be made between political and ordinary criminals. This drama, in which he was successful, is one of the most stirring events in his life. In 1890, along with Mr. Dillon, M.P., he was liberated on bail, to stand his trial, but he forfeited the bail, and escaped to America. In January, 1891, we find him as well as Mr. Dillon, in conference with Mr. Parnell in Paris, wishing to effect the retirement of the latter from the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party. But no expostulation or remonstrance could change the mind of that determined statesman. He immediately took sides against him, and was returned as an Anti-Parnellite for Cork city, and for the North-East Division of Cork. He is now disconnected with Parliament, and lives quietlyexcept for an occasional stirring speech on behalf of unity, and in the interests of the tenant farmers. Let us hope that he is mustering his forces at his charming Irish Cottage for prolonged Parliamentary work at no very distant date. Mr. O'Brien has also ventured into the domain of literature, and wrote while in prison "When we were Boys," which had for some time a remarkable vogue. It would not be advisable here to enter into the merits or demerits of the work; it is sufficient to say that while it made for its author many friends, it also created some enemies. From a literary point of view it undoubtedly possesses considerable merit. He has also ventured into the domain of poetry. but it is questionable if he will ever pursue literature as a profession. We give the following sample of his muse, which was written very shortly after the Irish Race Convention, and speaks strongly for unity.

UNITE!

SHAME, brothers, shame! Here's the day of battle breaking,
See a nation straining wildly for the music of your guns!
Think, soldiers, think! Freedom waits but for your waking—
And your camp but wakes to discord and your blows smite your
own sons.

Your country's cheek Your faction shriek Dyes scarlet with your shame!

Hear the foemen laugh their loudest in their red ranks grim and steady
While your jarring war of curses mad their thirsty ears imbibe:
"But yesterday for panic-flight our beaten hosts were ready—
Our mirth's to-day the fools who'd lose a country for a jibe"—

A jibe, a flout, Some faction shout, While Ireland's red with shame!

Hark! the warning from the green graves where the deathless dead lie watching:

"Not England's sword, but brother's feud, for ever struck us down."

Hark! the exile's prayer the Heavens from a hundred lands are catching:

"Touch their hearts, O angel's wing of peace, ere our golden hopes are gone 1"

But no—ever no! Still the curse and blow,

While Freedom's golden moments go.

Think, O comrades, of the camp fires where we laugh'd and quaff'd together,

When our souls flashed fire divine at touch of Ireland's holy hand, In days when, welcome thunderclap or triumph's blazing weather, We sought the shock with England's hosts, our peerless soldier band!

Have all perish'd—
Dreams so cherish'd—

When we thrill'd at touch of Ireland's holy hand?

Hark! a murmur from the martyr graves and o'er the ocean swelling!

The air grows dark with menace of a race in wrath uprisen:

"Petty breed of brawlers, cease your babble!—of your swords of foul stains telling

Purer hands will use to scourge you to graves curs'd for your treason.

And legions ten

Of truer men

Will spring to Ireland's sun bright flag new risen!"

JOSEPH PATRICK RYAN, NEW YORK.

JOSEPH PATRICK RYAN was born in the city of Limerick, and received his early education at the schools of the Christian Brothers, in Sexton Street and Thomond Gate, afterwards attending the private schools of Rohan and O'Neil. He was apprenticed to the firm of Bernard McNulty and Son, in George Street, to learn the trade of paper staining and painting. Upon reaching his eighteenth year he left his native land for the United States, where he continued to work at the manufacture of paperhangings for seven years after his arrival, in the city of New Brunswick, New Jersey, during which time he was the



THOMOND BRIDGE AND KING JOHN'S CASTLE, LIMERICK.

inventor and patentee of many useful appliances, now universally employed in the manufacture of wallpapers.

About this time he married the daughter of the late Captain William Boylan, and soon afterwards gave up his connection with the manufacturing branch of his trade, and removed to the city of New York, where he engaged in the painting and decorative business, soon achieving distinction in that department.

As a boy he was wont to play around the historic Treaty Stone, when, like Ireland's hopes, it was half buried in the earth, ere it was

accorded the dignity of a pedestal on which to rest, and find safety from vandal hands. In later years the memories it represented, and the lesson it taught were treasured and studied, and to make Ireland a free and self-governing nation became the aspiration of his life. To assist in achieving this object he became a member of every organisation in America, that, for the time, gave hope of doing good for Ireland. When the Land League was organised in America, he was among the first to join it, and soon became one of its most trusted leaders. To the National League, which succeeded it, he gave his services as freely. A few days before the rupture took place in the party, acting as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Municipal Council of New York, he organised the most successful public meeting ever held in America, in support of the Irish cause, which responded to the appeals of the Parliamentary Delegation by contributions amounting to \$28,000.

When the Executive of the National League in America, declared themselves inactive, or neutral as between the divisions of the party in Ireland, he was one of the founders of the Irish National Federation of America, organised to support majority rule. He was elected its secretary, which office he has filled continuously with marked ability, and at great personal sacrifice. During the long contest with faction, Mr. Ryan's wise counsel has guided the course of affairs in the United States. He has always stood an irremovable obstruction in the path of the factionist. He attended the Convention as a delegate from the City Council of the Irish National Federation of New York with which he had been connected since its conception. In the presence of this great Convention, he demanded—in the name of the exiled Irish Race—that division in the Parliamentary Party should cease, or the discipline necessary to compel unity be enforced. In Belfast, his reception by the Nationalists was extremely enthusiastic. In his speech in St. Mary's Hall, there, he said, "England must count on the fact that she has to contend not only with the Irish in Ireland, but that she must fight the Irish Race all over the world, and so long as England denied justice to Ireland, they would stand a barrier in the path of her commercial progress, or her territorial aggrandisement."

In view of what has since occurred in Venezuela, and the recent rejection of the Arbitration Treaty, this is very significant, if no prophetic. Mr. Ryan is still the possessor of vigorous health, and hopes to live to see the day when the doors of an Irish Parliament House shall be opened to admit the representatives of a self-governing

nation.

PATRICK GALLAGHER, NEW YORK.

MR. PATRICK GALLAGHER was born in County Mayo, Ireland, forty-six years ago, and left for the United States in 1880. Having learned the building trade in Ireland, and mastered the details of the New World requirements in America, he engaged as contractor and builder in New York city, about twelve years ago, and ranks to-day among the leading builders of the great city of New York. He built the magnificent armoury of the Seventy-first New York Regiment, and many of the great public and private buildings, for which New York is remarkable. An earnest Irish Nationalist, he became con-



DELPHI, CONNEMARA.

nected with the Land League at its formation in America, and has been one of the most earnest and active workers in the Irish National movement since. Always a generous contributor, he was elected president of the City Council Irish National Federation of New York, and has always devoted his valuable time to the work of the Federation of America. Elected a delegate to the Irish Race Convention, he visited his native place while in Ireland, where his sound advice did much to convert many supporters of the minority party. He has brought to the service of the Federation the same genuine ability and enterprise that he has manifested in all his business engagements. Courteous and affable to those who differ with him, he has won over to the national cause many valued and influential supporters. Though a silent delegate at the great Convention, he is, and has been a most determined and plodding worker in the Irish cause.

WILLIAM LUNDON.

MR. WILLIAM LUNDON was born 31st August, 1839, in Ballinlougt, Kilteely, County Limerick. Originally of the farming class, his present position is that of classical teacher. Since 1861 he has conducted an academy for classics and mathematics in Kilteely. His pupils mostly aim for the priesthood, passing on to the Diocesan College of Thurles, and many of them adopt the foreign missions, studying in the various missionary colleges of Ireland. Early in the Fenian movement, Mr. Lundon cast in his lot with the brave young



From photo by] THE PULLINS, BROWNHALL, CO. DONEGAL. [W. Lawrence, Dublin men around him, endeavouring to the best of his lights to right the wrongs of his country. On the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in February, 1866, two informers turned up against him, but he succeeded in escaping to America. He, however, returned with many others on the eve of the rising in 1867. After the ill-fated rising he was arrested, tried, and confined in Limerick and Dublin prisons until July, 1868. Twenty-one years later he was again imprisoned by Mr. Balfour. He is at present Secretary to the Kilteely Branch of the Irish National Federation, and has been County Delegate for Limerick for the third time. He never shrinks from expressing him.

REV. DENIS O'HARA.

THE name of "O'Hara" is well known in Ireland. For more than a thousand years the O'Haras have been the lords of Leyny. Their ruined castles are in every corner of the barony, and from Belclare Castle, on the confines of Mayo, to Menlough Castle, near the sea in Sligo the descendants of this Milesian race are still in evidence. The Rev. Denis O'Hara may fairly claim kindred here, but it is perhaps



PHENIX PARK, DUBLIN.

better to deal with him personally, than treat at great length of his ancestry.

Father O'Hara, almost from his birth in Cloonacool, in the Diocese of Achonry, on the 24th June, 1849, gave evidence of future distinction, and of a strong predilection for the ecclesiastical state. Hence, he was sent at an unusually early age to the Diocesan College, Ballaghaderren, where, in a short time, he became the idol of his young companions, and acquired sufficient information to enable him to matriculate for the National College at Maynooth. Here, too, he was regarded by all—superiors and students—as a youth of great promise,

His missionary career, whe'her as curate in Kiltimagh, or as administrator in Ballaghaderreen, or as P.P. in his present parish, has been one of unparalleled success. As priest he has caused religion to flourish, as patriot he has communicated the ardour of his love to his people, as a benevolent and practical man he has gone amongst them, and taught them how to improve their lands and homes; and many there are whom he has raised from the slough of despair, and who, happy to-day in the realisation of the hopes he brought them, teach their little ones to bless his name, and the piteous cry of poverty has in many homes been supplanted by "God bless Father O'Hara."

Father O'Hara is a firm believer in organisation. If he wishes the salvation of souls he straightway enrols his people in the Sodality of the Sacred Heart—men, women, and children, he enrols them. It is needless to say that under his care, these societies are in a high state of efficiency, and it is particularly pleasant to be able to state that notwithstanding his great and unceasing labours in other fields of labour, "the vineyard of the Lord" shows that it is still his chief concern, and the state of religion in his parish reflects more credit on this indefatigable priest than do all his other remarkable achievements. The marvel is how, amidst a thousand works, he has time for all, and besides, seems entirely given up to the people's spiritual advancement.

It would be impossible in a short sketch to do justice to his labours. The church of Monastenedan was once regarded as the crowning effort of a singularly successful career, but this little gem of architectural beauty, built on the bleak and barren mountain side, is now eclipsed by many works of this master-hand. His works in Kiltimagh alone would fill a volume—the four schools, the four residences for teachers, the parochial house, the curate's house, the fourteen artisans' dwellings, the technical school, the convent, and the church in all its stately grandeur; each a work sufficient to be regarded as the labour of a life time, so perfect in every detail, and yet, all these have grown up in the space of nine years, whilst during the same time the face of the country has been changed, new roads have been made, bridges have been built, plantations here, drainage schemes there, and better houses for the parishioners have been built under his personal supervision.

Merits of such a high order could not but be heard of outside the confines of his parish, and hence the great and universal rejoicing when his appointment as a member of the Congested Districts Board was made known. Since then his sphere of usefulness has been extended, and many parishes are now beginning to feel the influence

of their enterprising neighbour.

As a politician he has always been regarded as a man of great sincerity and singleness of purpose. Hence he has been unanimously elected three years in succession as County Delegate for Mayo to the Council of the National Federation. His parishioners are all sterling Nationalists, and his parish is a model of organisation and unity, so much so, indeed, that in the recently contested elections the opponents of Mr. John Dillon recognised that it would be labour in vain for them to solicit votes within the boundary of Kiltimagh.

On the advent of Father O'Hara, the parish of Kiltimagh was one of the very poorest in Ireland. But things have changed, and changed wonderfully, and all honour to the man, who, single-handed has brought about the change, and effected so much good. There were here no rich to contribute bountifully to his assistance, no well-informed persons to confer with, yet the good work has been done; and it would seem that the energy of a whole-souled leader requires practically no co-operation; it surmounts all difficulties, and never waits to think of failure. Thus it is with Father Denis O'Hara, the pious priest of Kiltimagh, the worthy and upright citizen, the truest and most faithful of friends, and the patriot without fear and without reproach.



DENIS KILFRIDE, M.P.

Among the speakers at the Irish Race Convention was Mr. Denis Kilbride, M.P. for North Galway. Mr. Kilbride's speech was brief but relevant. He pointed out some of the relations existing between landlord and tenant, stating that the only solution of the Irish land question was the system under which the tenant should purchase the interest of the landlord, and be wholly independent of him. As a farmer himself, and one who had studied the question in all its



KYLEMORE CASTLE, CO. GALWAY.

bearings, Mr. Kilbride was in a position to speak with a great deal of authority on the subject. For many years he had been intimately connected with the land agitation, and by reason of this connection, he came into great prominence in Ireland. Therefore, much interest was centred in him personally, and his speech was listened to with great attention.

Mr. Kilbride, son of Thomas Kilbride, is a native of Queen's County, and was born at Luggacurran, in 1847. Early in the Land League days, he became associated with Irish politics, and has ever since, at great personal sacrifice, done everything in his power to improve the condition of the Irish tenant farmer. He became M.P.

for South Kerry, a constituency which he represented from 1887 to 1895. Since the latter date he represents North Galway, and con tinues his deep interest in the farming class. Last January, at a meeting of the Irish Party held in Committee Room 15, of the House of Commons, he moved that Mr. Dillon be entrusted with the moving of an amendment to the Address, with reference to the agricultural distress in Ireland, thus showing his continued concern for the well-being of the Irish farmer, and that the land question may be taken

as his department in the Irish Party.

He feels, as every thinking man who has lived in Ireland, and has become acquainted with the condition of the people, that at the bottom of most of the Irish difficulty and discontent is the land question, and until this is settled on a basis that will afford the Irish farmer the means of living in comparative comfort, it is useless to hope he will ever, or can ever, rest satisfied. The British House of Commons has been so far unwilling or unable to deal with this question, and hence arises the cry for Home Rule for Ireland. Some concessions have been made, but even with these concessions, the Irish farmer is still very poor, and utterly unable to keep pace with the foreign competition in farm produce, wherewith the British market is closed to him. This is well enough for England, which is a manufacturing country, but utterly ruinous to Ireland, which, it may be said, is purely agricultural. No matter what may be the depression in the price of farm produce, the landlord's account must be satisfied, and although the Land Courts periodically fix the rent between landlor I and tenant, they usually fail to give satisfaction, being largely composed of those who could not be supposed to act generously to the farmer. The land question, therefore, is one of great moment in Ireland, and upon it hinges most of the discontent that has been for many years distracting the country. To this matter, Mr. Kilbride gives himself heartily, and never loses an opportunity of aiding the cause of the Irish farmer. He is exceedingly popular with his colleagues, who admire his frankness and disinterested patriotism. We express the hope that he may remain for many years to come a member of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and continue to take the same interest in the Irish tenantry which he has done for so many years in the past, and that in the face of so much dogged opposition and at such great personal sacrifice.



REV. RICHARD LYTTLE.

REV. RICHARD LYTTLE, of Moneyrea, County Down, is a young Unitarian minister, who became noted-political opponents would say, notorious-during the past five or six years. as the staunchest and most outspoken advocate of Home Rule amongst the Protestant clergymen. Mr. Lyttle was born at Barmhill, near Dromore, County Down, on 6th March, 1866. He is the son of Mr. P.ichard Lyttle, a merchant in Dromore, who has sprung from a



NEWCASTLE, CO. DOWN.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

good old stock of gentlemen farmers in the Donacloney district. His mother was Miss Mary M'William, of Banbridge, whose family were connected for several generations with the Irish linen trade.

As years went on, however, the naturally intelligent and broadminded youth, in search of truth and political enlightenment, began to read the Freeman's Journal, and other National newspapers, as well as the Anti-Irish organs to which alone he had been accustomed. He studied Irish history privately, for the schools and colleges afforded him no instruction in that subject, and with the melody of his mother's Irish songs still echoing in his heart, young Richard Lyttle became a

thorough Nationalist and Home Ruler, not only from patriotic sentiment, but from the most profound conviction and fixed principle. His father, Mr. Lyttle, held a farm, within a mile of his place of business, on which his family resided. Owing to a defective title, he was dispossessed of the farm, prior to the passage of the Act of 1881, and his claim for \pounds_2 ,000 for tenant-right was disallowed. On this farm the young Richard was born, and the boy passionately loved the place of his birth, the green fields, the fragrant lawn, the dear old home, where the first happy years of his life were spent, and where, following a natural bent, he had become an expert and daring rider.

At the age of fourteen, Master Richard Lyttle became a pupil in Lurgan College, where he not only made satisfactory progress in his studies, but became an enthusiastic athlete. He was intended for the law, but relinquished that profession in favour of the ministry, and entered the Unitarian College at Manchester, at the age of eighteen. There he remained three years, completing the course in classics, history, philosophy, theology, and literature, earning his diploma.

Having before the end of his course, gained the valuable Tate Scholarship, he entered Owens College, Manchester, and became a history-honours student, in connection with Victoria University. There he remained two years, when he resigned his scholarship, owing to a temporary ailment of the right eye, brought on by over-work, which cut short a scheme of patterned studies, and rendered necessary a change of residence and of work.

Mr. Lyttle b r. and kly recovered, and subsequently accepted a thy spirit ous "call" from the historic, and non-toneyrea, and was installed as minister in line of able ministers, of whom the best

were the electric Blakely, the electric advocate of the Eman pation, and the Rev. Harold Rylett, who became a prominent leader in the Irish Land League in 1880-84.

Since his settlement in Moneyrea in 1889, Mr. Lyttle has devoted himself assiduously to his percehial and pastoral duties, and therein has won the affection and retained the against of his entire congregation of two hundred families. Those of is flock who differ from him in politics, have, with an enlightene traility and broad-mindedness, worthy of imitation in all Christian munities, though unfortunately seldom met with in the North of Irela J, most loyally supported their pastor in the exercise of his right of private judgment, which is one of the doctrines of their religious belief.

Soon after his return to Ulster Mr. Lyttle organised a band of Ulster Protestant Home Rulers to aid at British elections in counteracting the unpatriotic action of Ulster and other Irish Unionists; and was himself a frequent speaker at English and Scottish elections, cross-

ing the channel for a couple of days, and speaking, when he could not spare a longer absence from his pastoral charge.

In 1893, he promoted the memorial to Mr. Gladstone in favour of his Irish policy, which was signed by over 700 Unitarians in Belfast

and district, including thirteen ministers.

In 1894, Mr. Lyttle conceived the idea of an organisation of patriotic Irishmen, for advancing the cause of National Self-Government, and consonant with this idea, the "Irish Women's Association" was formed in the October of that year. This association has flourished exceedingly. It has a large and enthusiastic membership of Catholic and Protestant ladies, and has added to its original programme the cultivation and preservation of Irish National sentiment in Ulster, by swakening a love for, and diffusing a knowledge of Irish history, Irish literature, music and art. A pleasing feature of this association is the perfect harmony with which Catholic and Protestant ladies work together in the promotion of these worthy objects.

Well versed in all the burning questions of the hour with a breadth of sympathy that takes in all who suffer wrong or oppression, without distinction of race, creed, class, or politics; a fluent speaker, a comely presence, an enthusiastic Nationalist, and an earnest believer in, and worker for, National Self-Government, the Rev. Mr. Lyttle is an excellent specimen of a brave and helpful young Ulster Protestant

patriot. Ireland needs more like him.



ROUND TOWER, SWORDS, CO. DUBLIN.

GEORGE J. LYNSKEY.

MR. GEORGE J. LYNSKEY, who at present fills so distinguished a part in the public life of Liverpool, is Irish, and is proud of the fact. Some years ago, the name of Irishman was not a passport to success in England, but happily that barrier has been, in a great measure, broken down, and this pleasing change is largely due to the ability, the uprightness, and the general adaptability of such Irish, as the subject of our sketch.

Mr. Lynskey is brother of Canon Lynskey, Clifden, Galway, whose career is given elsewhere, and was born at Ashgrove, Tuam, in 1862. After a remarkable course as a student, he secured his law diploma. and soon came to practise in Liverpool, where he found scope enough for his ability, but where ability only could succeed. He possesses many of the qualities of the elder brother, especially his energy and perseverance, and only by such means, combined with his great talent, could he have attained the distinguished position which he now holds. Mr. Lynskey was present at the Irish Race Convention, as representing the Irishmen of the important city of Liverpool, which is generally regarded as the Irish capital of England. His speech was brief and relevant. Coming forward as he did towards the close of the third day, he was evidently anxious to get to the point, and state his case in good earnest. He is a strong advocate of the rule of the majority, for, to his mind, it is impossible to preserve order and enforce discipline otherwise; and as every Irishman, who has the welfare of his country at heart, he laments the unhappy divisions that have paralysed the power and influence of the Irish Parliamentary Party to the British House of Commons, and afforded the hostile Englan public an opportunity of sneering at the mention of Home Rule, and the very name of Irishman. It was easy to see that Mr. Lynskey felt the force of his own remarks, and he was in a position to speak, living as he did in a country where the Irish politician is often socially ostracised, and regarded with no small amount of suspicion. He is evidently a practised speaker, clear and forcible, and aims at making his statements intelligible and incisive, in the fewest possible words Since coming to Liverpool, no matter what might be the personal sacrifice, or pecuniary disadvantage, Mr. Lynskey has never ceased to take part in current Irish politics, and aid, to the best of his power, the cause of his country. It would not, indeed, be surprising if, at no distant date, pelitical honours await the young and promising Irish lawyer of Liverpool.

ALPHONSUS QUIN.

Mr. Alphonsus Quin, who delivered a short but effective speech at the Race Convention, is a native of County Tyrone, born in the parish of Arboe, 15th July, 1861. He is, as was his father, a farmer, and is therefore deeply interested in any movement that concerns that department. He joined the Land League in 1880, and remained secretary of the local branch until that organisation became illegal. At the Dublin Convention of 1881, under the presidency of Mr. Parnell, he



RUINS ON DEVENISH ISLAND, LOUGH ERNE.

was present as delegate. Mr. Quin has been conducting agent at various parliamentary elections, especially during the time of Mr. Parnell, of whom he was a great admirer, and whose policy he strictly followed, until the great Convention of 1896. Since then he has been an adherent of Mr. Dillon. Though laying no special claims to oratorical powers, he delights in oratory, and recalls with pleasure his visits to the House of Commons during some very notable debates. He is now connected with the Irish National Federation locally, and hopes the Irish Race Convention, so representative of Irish blood, throughout the world, may effect unity and peace among Irish Nationalists.

VERY REV. DR. FLANNERY, ST. THOMAS, ONTARIO.

Very Rev. William Flannery, D.D., was born in Nenagh, County Tipperary, Ireland, January, 1829. After a preliminary classical course in his native town, he went at an early age to a college in the South of France. When his philosophical and theological studies were completed, with the consent of the then Bishop of Killaloe, he volunteered with others to go to Canada, and being ordained at St. Michael's Cathedral, Toronto, 22nd May, 1853, became Professor of English literature, and afterwards of rhetoric, in the Catholic College of that city.



From photo by] SALMON LEAP, BELLEEK, CO. FERMANAGH. [W. Lawrence, Dublin

Here he remained for some years, until his health gave way, when it was considered necessary that he should return to his native hills to recuperate. He was received cordially by the bishop of the diocese, and recovering from a malignant fever, by which he was for weeks prostrated in his native town, he was appointed to the curacy of Toomevara, Diocese of Killaloe. In his new cure he was very successful, and achieved a reputation for zeal and piety. After some time, the Most Rev. Dr. Flannery conceived the idea of a Diocesan Cathedral, and selected the curate

of Toomevara for what proved a rather difficult and trying mission, that of collecting funds in the United States for the undertaking. A public banquet was tendered him on his departure, and high hopes were entertained of his forthcoming success, but the American Civil War broke out about this time, and extending over some years, rendered it impossible for him to succeed. All the spare moneys were required for war purposes, and so the collecting had to be abandoned Dr. Flannery, in the meantime, engaged in missionary work. The project of erecting the cathedral was for the time abandoned, but it is gratifying to have to record, that a beautiful cathedral church has since been completed, during the administration of Most Rev. Dr. McRedmond, and through the energy of Dean White, Nenagh.

Dr. Flannery has been the life long friend of Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Toronto, and the Archbishop has ever admired him for his excellent qualities of head and heart. He is an accomplished scholar, contributing now and then articles of rare merit to the periodicals and Press on Catholic subjects. In :ecognition of his scholarly attainments, the Georgetown University at Washington, 22nd June, 1892, conferred upon him the degree of D.D. He is pastor of the Church of the Holy Angels, in St. Thomas, and his charge is a very important one. In October, 1895, he celebrated the silver jubilee of his residence there, receiving the hearty congratulations of his parishioners, as well as of his many admiring friends among the priests of Ontario.

Dr. Flannery spoke in the Leinster Hall at the Irish Race Convention, afterwards at Belfast, Clonmel, and at a banquet given to the foreign delegates by the members of I.N. Federation in the City of Cork. He is now in his sixty-eighth year, forty-four of which have been spent in the sacred ministry. But his upright form, his cheery voice, and elastic step give promise that he will not only live to celebrate the golden jubilee of his priesthood, but that he will be spared many more years in the interests of the church and his compatriots in Canada.



JOHN B. DEVLIN, WILKESBARRE, PENNSYLVANIA.

Mr. JOHN B. DEVLIN, who attended the Irish Race Convention, is resident in Scott Street, Wilkesbarre, Pa. He was born at Carrickmacross, County Monaghan, in the year 1840, son of James Devlin and Alice Byrne. Mr. Devlin delights to speak of his mother, and tells with infinite relish a story of her patriotism, which casts some light on the treatment to which the Irish were subjected in their own country at the hands of aliens and usurpers. Alice Byrne, then a



From photo by] RAPIDS OF CASTLECONNELL, CO. LIMERICK. [W. Lawrence, Dublin

young woman, as was the custom at that time, attended the May fair of Carrickmacross, her hair decked in green ribbons. The wearing of the green was a mortal offence, and soon she was brought to task by Captain Steele, of the Orange Yeomen. Her answer was not quite satisfactory, and the gallant captain at once set about cropping her hair and ribbons with his sword. The result was a free fight, in which the Yeomen were worsted by the peasantry, but the girl deprived of her hair and ribbons. Her son is ever proud of his patriotic mother.

Mr. Devlin attended the parochial schools of his native town until his seventeenth year, when he went to Dublin, where he was engaged

in the leather business, which is still his department. In Dublin he joined the United Irishmen, but the society was short-lived for the spies of the British Government were soon on their track, and all the leaders were arrested. Young Devlin and a few other active workers made their escape first to Glasgow, then Edinburgh, and finally Liverpool, coming to the United States in 1859. He has been an active member of every organisation having for its object the well-being of Ireland since coming to America. He was a member of the Land League, the Clan-na-Gael, is now President of the Council of the Irish N. Federation, Wilkesbarre, and was instrumental in raising a company in Mauch Chunk in 1866, to assist the Fenian uprising in Canada. But Le Carronism and the assassination of Dr. Cronin, showed him that revolutionary societies were injurious to the cause of Ireland, and he now confines himself to strictly constitutional measures.

Shortly after his advent to America, Mr. Devlin married Mary Anne Tree, of Mauch Chunk, by whom he has a very promising family of sons and daughters. He lives happily, and has been only once in Ireland in the space of 37 years. Nearly all his relatives, in the interim, have passed away. An ardent Catholic, Republican in politics, a typical American citizen, a total abstainer, an upright and faithful friend, Mr. Devlin yields to none in his love for the motherland, and it is his proud boast that he lived long enough to return to the land of his birth, and strike a constitutional blow on its behalf beneath the shadow of Dublin Castle.



IRELAND'S EYE.

CHARLES HERRON.

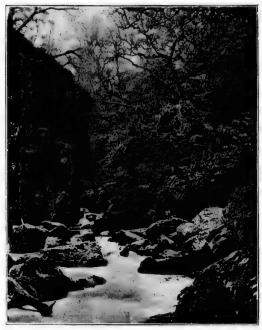
The subject of this sketch was born in the parish of Ballinascreen. near Draperstown, County Derry, in the year 1864. Although of the farming class, at an early age he was remarkable for his studious habits, and the great proficiency he exhibited at the local National Schools. The family is noted for talent, and among the most gifted students of Maynooth was a brother of our subject, who died a few months before completing his theological course.

Mr. Charles Herron was for some years connected with the Irish National Board of Education, but is now retired, having through a relative acquired considerable private means, whereby he is enabled to live in absolute independence. He is still resident in his native parish, and in that purely Celtic quarter, known as Sixtowns. His time is mostly devoted to study, especially the study of general English literature. However, he loses no opportunity of interesting himself. in any movement for the benefit of his country, and is always connected with the local branches of the Irish National Federation. His speech at the Irish Race Convention was brief and to the point. He deplored the divisions among the Irish Parliamentary Party, but was glad as an accredited representative of South Derry to be able to state there was no disunion in the ranks there. Mr. Herron appeared on the occasion to think himself somewhat out of place, but there is little doubt he could become an accomplished speaker. has it that there are honours in store for him; he is already a Poor Law Guardian of the Magherafelt Union, and some hint that he is a coming Justice of the Peace, at no very remote date, while others go so far as to hold him up for Parliamentary honours. It is doubtful if Mr. Herron is not entirely too wanting in confidence, and too retiring for such distinctions. But we are convinced he has the welfare of his country at heart, and will rejoice to effect in his own quiet way, any possible good for Ireland.



HON. JOHN McKEOWN, ONTARIO, CANADA.

THE Hon. John McKeown, Q.C., was born in the County of Tyrone, in 1833. His family emigrated to Canada, when he was but a mere boy, and settled within twelve miles of Niagara Falls. His father,



IN THE DARGLE, CO. WICKLOW.

who was a land surveyor, was actively identified with the formation of what was practically the first Catholic parish in the Niagara Peninsula. After a time the family removed to St. Catherine's, where young John entered the Grantham Academy, and completed his preparatory course for the university.

He entered the University of Toronto in 1851, where he made a brilliant course of classics and mathematics, and was one of the first Catholic graduates of that now famous institution of learning. He passed the various examinations at Osgood Hall, and became barristerat-law in 1852. The following year he began the practice of his profession in the city of Hamilton, where he established a large and lucrative business. He ran in the Reform interest for the House of Commons in 1873, but was defeated by the Hon. Thomas Merrit. In recognition of his loyalty to Liberal principals, and of his success in his profession, he was appointed Crown Attorney for the County of Lincoln, and the following year received his commission as Queen's Councillor. When it was a question of selecting delegates for the great Irish Race Convention, Mr. McKeown was chosen in association with Dean Harris to represent the Irishmen of St. Catherine's, Ontario, His speech at the Dublin Convention was characteristic of the man, and marked by much common sense and considerable force. Mr. McKeown lived but a short time after his return to Canada. He died at the "Hotel Dieu" Hospital, Kingston, and was attended in his last moments by Archbishop Cleary, an Irishman also, a great prelate and a distinguished scholar, who, with his characteristic tenderness repeatedly visited him. Mr. McKeown was an accomplished classical scholar, an able lawyer, and a consistent upholder and defender of the rights of the Catholic minority in Ontario. He was a man of large impulse, and generous attributes, and by his death the legal profession in Canada suffered a severe loss. He was a consistent Catholic, a generous supporter of his church, and a man whose example for good, was far reaching and effective.



DR. PATRICK J. TIMMINS, BOSTON.

DR. PATRICK JOSEPH TIMMINS is a native of the County Fermanagh, Ireland. He was born on the 28th of February, 1851, in Derrykerrib, one of the many picturesque islands of Upper Lough Erne, close to the historic Crom Castle, famed for its sieges in the time of the Williamite and Jacobite Wars. Dr. Timmins' birthplace was three miles from Newtownbutler, and his childhood years were associated with endless journeys in flat-bottomed cots, among the numerous islands, and to the main land for chapel, school, and market. He is the second of a family which consisted of eight children, having four brothers and three sisters. His father, Mr. Francis Timmins, was the first Catholic Poor Law Guardian elected for that district. The earliest school Dr. Timmins attended was conducted by a schoolmaster who gathered a fitful class wherever he could among the children of the islands. When able to read he was sent to the nearest National School, three miles away by water and road. That distance was shortened into two miles, through the kindness of Colonel Saunderson, the present member of Parliament of North Armagh, who permitted the children of the vicinity to take a short cut through his demesne. From the National School young Patrick Timmins was placed in an academy, conducted by a Presbyterian clergyman at Clinooney, near Clones. Here he commenced the rudiments of classics, and at the age of fifteen was transferred to St. Macartan's Catholic Seminary at Monaghan. Among his professors at that institution were the Most Rev. Dr. Owens, the present Bishop of Clogher, and Canon O'Connor, who is now parish priest of Newtownbutler. He spent three and a half years at Monaghan, and then proceeded to Maynooth. In this last college, he went through the regular course of languages, English literature, logic and metaphysics, but not thinking that he was called to an ecclesiastical state, he did not commence theology and the sacred studies proper. He left Maynooth in 1871, and shortly afterwards came to the United States, where some of his relatives had preceded him.

Not having as yet decided on a profession, he accepted a position as teacher of classics in the well-known College of Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, and later transferred his services to St. Francis Xavier's College, New York. While here he decided to adopt the medical profession, and proceeded to the celebrated Georgetown University, at Washington, D.C., where he relinquished teaching and took up the full course of the medical faculty. For clinical instruction he attended the Providence Hospital, Washington. He received his M.D. degree with honours in 1878, being voted by the college to

deliver the valedictory address at the graduation ceremony. He also obtained the faculty prize of his year, consisting of a gold medal, annually granted to the student who passed the best written examinations. Being now a doctor in medicine, but desiring to obtain a better grasp of his profession, he spent a year acting as resident physician to the Children's Hospital, and to the City Hospital, Washington. While there he contributed papers on "Scarlatina by Inoculation," and other kindred subjects to local medical journals. From Washington he went to Troy, N.Y., where he practised as a physician for a year and a half. In 1880 he married Miss Mary Anne Doyle, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, and removed to Malden in the same State, where he remained for two years. Desiring the greater scope of a large city, he finally, in 1883, came to South Boston. Here he rapidly gained an extensive practice, and is now one of the best known practitioners in that district of the New England Metropolis. Dr. Patrick Timmins is a citizen of the United States, and an enthusiastic admirer of American institutions. He is devoted to his profession, but continues to feel a lively interest in all things concerning the welfare of his native land.



ST. KEVIN'S KITCHEN, GLENDALOUGH, CO. WICKLOW.

REV. JOHN SCANLAN.

THE REV. JOHN SCANLAN, who seconded the vote of thanks to the Bishop of Raphoe for presiding so patiently and efficiently over the great Irish Convention, was born at Fortane, Tulla, Co. Clare, in 1844. Educated in the local schools, and in the Jesuit College, Limerick, he entered Maynooth College in 1860. Here, after a distinguished course, extending over seven years, he was ordained priest. He was appointed



CLIFFS OF MOHER, CO. CLARE.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

successively to the curacies of Castletown-Ara, 1867; Toomevara, 1868; Dunkerrin, 1873; and Ennis, Co. Clare, in 1877. In Ennis he laboured till 1888, when he was appointed Parish Priest of the united parishes of Cloughjordan, Ardcroney and Kilruane, in the County of Tipperary. Father Scanlan is one of the most genial and unassuming priests of the Diocese of Killaloe, yet he is always ready to take part in any movement on behalf of his people and country.

ALFRED WEBB.

MR. ALFRED WEBB was born in Dublin in 1834. His father, Richard D. Webb, took a prominent part in the teetotal and anti-slavery agitations, for many years editing the Anti-Slavery Advocate. Alfred Webb learned printing when a child, and served as apprentice, man, manager, purtner, and owner, from 1850 to 1893, excepting two years, when he dug for gold, worked in the Bush, and served as sailor in Australia.



From photo by]

COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

His first essay in literature was a Life of John Mitchel, in 1850. He has written a Compendium of Irish Biography, now out of print; numerous tracts, polished and otherwise; and varied contributions to the Press. Interested in Irish affairs from his earliest years, he threw himself into politics as a Nationalist and Home Ruler thirty years ago. He served in Parliament as Member for West Waterford (being thrice elected without opposition), from 1890 to 1895. He parted company with Mr. Parnell after the divorce proceedings. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress at Madras in 1894. He has always, whilst devoted to his native land, felt himself in his interests

and obligations to have for his country the world, and his countrymen all mankind. Absorption in politics led him to neglect, and ultimately give up business in 1893. He has travelled much, commencing with the County Wicklow, being twice round the world and in America, besides India, Greece, and many visits to Switzerland and Italy, not to speak of having been in every county in Ireland. He now leads a quiet life in his library, his garden, and on his bucycle, desiring nothing more than that he should yet have a renewed opportunity for service in the National cause, through the Irish people shaking off their present lethargy—laying aside their feuds, footballs, Cycles, horse-racing, and horsey demonstrations, and giving themselves to an earnest effort for Home Rule.



JOHN EDWARD REDMOND, M.P.

MR. JOHN E. REDMOND, member for Waterford City, is the son of the late W. A. Redmond, M.P., Ballytrent, and was born in 1851. He was educated at Clongowes Wood College and Trinity College, Dublin; Barrister, Gray's Inn, 1886; Irish Bar, 1887. Married 1883, Johanna,



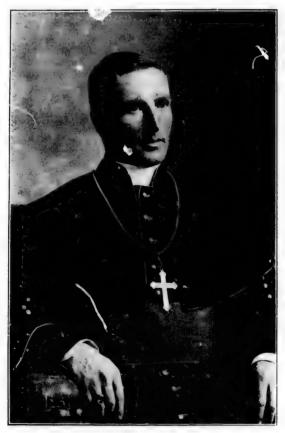
PARLIAMENT SQUARE, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

youngest daughter of the late Mr. James Dalton, of New South Wales. Was M.P. for borough of New Poss, 1881-1885; North Wexford, 1885-1891; Waterford City, 1891; re-elected, 1892 and 1895. Though Mr. Redmond was not present at the Convention, yet, as leader of the Parnellite Party, great interest was taken in him by those who attended, and for that reason it has been thought desirable to give him a place.



THE CONVENTION





MOST REV. PATRICK O'DONNELL, D.D., Bishop of Raphoe.
(See pp. 14, 156, 315.)

Frish Race Convention.

FIRST DAY-IST SEPTEMBER, 1896.

THE Convention assembled at noon.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, M.P.—Fellow-countrymen, I have the honour and pleasure to move that the chair be taken at this great Convention by the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Lord Bishop of Raphoe.

Very Rev. Canon Shinkwin, P.P., Bandon, seconded the resolution. Mr. Davitt, M.P., put the resolution, which was adopted amid cheers, renewed again as his Lordship took the chair.

The CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, my first duty as chairman is to ask you to appoint honorary secretaries to this Convention.

Very Rev. Canon Lysskey, P.P., Clifden—I have very much pleasure in doing a very perfunctory duty here to-day. It is that of proposing that Rev. Father M'Guire, C.C., Enniskillen; Captain Donelan, M.P.; Rev. Father O'Callaghan, C.C., Mallow; David Sheehy, M.P., and Michael Davitt, M.P., be appointed honorary secretaries to the Convention.

Dr. Ambrose, M.P., seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Secretaries laid on the table the Agenda of Resolutions sent in pursuance of notice of 20th August.*

The Chairman—I shall ask Father M'Fadden of Gweedors to begin the proceedings with an Irish prayer. Conacará an rasant Panáirte Saet Dón Uniung an ropsaite na réire móine ro.†

Rev. J. M'FADDEN, P.P., advanced to the foot of the platform and read as follows, the entire Convention remaining standing during the reading:

In Cinm an Ctap, azur a Mhic, azur an Spioparo Naonii. Cimen.

Τυηλίης, α δρισματο Νασιή, σ'άρ η πορηγαίος, αιτλίου εγωτότε το έγειτο πεαέ, αχυγ ατάπο πορητά τε είνα το έχιατα τέπο.

Rainnin. Cuip cugainn το Spiopato, azur chucócap iato.

Γρεαχραό. Οξυγ ατοιμαθραιό τα αξαιό αυ ταλίμαυ.

Zuromir.

O Thia, to teagairs choibte na g-Cheitineac le tonnhat an Spionait

^{*} These resolutions will be found set out at end of Thursday's proceedings.
† "The Parish Priest of Gweedore will say a prayer at the opening of this great
Convention."

Ναοιή ; ταβαιη τώτη της απ δριοματό εφαξηα, το m-blarκαιπαοίς απ έφιλη-γαπ το m-beidead γίοριξαι ιτοθαίας οργαίτη: Τρώ ίστα Ορίογε άρι το Τιξεαρία. Ωποι.*

The CHAIRMAN—Before any other business is done I have a joyful message for the Convention that ought to be delivered at once. Centuries ago, when the two Hughs fought bravely for Irish freedom and freedom of conscience, as well as later on in the days of the Confederation of Kilkenny and of Owen Roe, Ireland had no more helpful friends than Paul V., Urban VIII., and Innocent X. Well, once more

"There's wine from the Royal Pope Upon the ocean green."

This great Convention was summoned to end Irish dissension, and I hold in my hand a gracious message from the illustrious Pontiff Leo XIII., just received through the distinguished Rector of the Irish College, Rome, in which his Holiness prays that dissensions may be ended. When you have heard the message in Latin and English, I shall leave it to the spontaneous act of the assembly to manifest its gratitude for such an exalted favour.

ROV

BISHOP OF RAPHOE, DUBLIN.
SANCTISSIMUS, BONUM SPIRITUALE ET TEMPORALE HIBER-NORUM EXOPTANS, FINEM DISSENSIONUM PRECATUR.

In English:-

THE HOLY FATHER, YEARNING FOR THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL WELFARE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE, PRAYS FOR THE END OF DISSENSIONS.

The favour of such a Prince should not long remain without acknowledgment, and I wish to be empowered, if it be the will of this Convention, to send back the following message in the name of the Convention:—

MONSIGNORE KELLY, COLLEGIO IRIANDESE, ROMA-

Conventus gentis Hibernicæ Sanctissimo gratias agit amplissimas de verbis benigaissimis, que uti favorem eximium, pacisque augurium felicissi-num, una viceomnes accipiunt delegati.

EPISCOPUS RAPOTENSIS PRAESES.

In English :-

The Irish Race Convention begs to express its profound gratitude to the Hoiy Signal favour, and as the happiest augury of peace, which all the delegates receive as a signal favour, and as the happiest augury of peace.

Now, gentlemen, there is a letter from his Grace the Archbishop of Toronto, which the Rev. Father Ryan, St. Michael's, Toronto, his delegate, is here to read to you. The letter is one which I am sure you will all hear with pleasure.

[&]quot; In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. "Come. O Holy Ghost, replenish the hearts of Thy faithful, and kindle in them the fire of Thy love.

[&]quot;Versicle. Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created. "Response. And Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

[&]quot;LET US PRAY.

"O God, Who, by the light of the Holy Ghost, didst in truct the hearts of the faithful, grant that by the same Spirit we may know what is right, and ever enjoy His consolation: through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

Rev. Dr. RYAN—His Grace not being able to come to this Convention, wished me to read this letter to the Convention to-day:—

Toronto, August 13th, 1896.

REV. FATHER RYAN, RECTOR OF ST. MICHAEL'S CATHEDRAL.

My Dear Father Ryau—As it is quite out of my power to assist at the great Irish Convention to be held in Dublin in the beginning of September, I hereby depute you to attend thereat as my representative. You know my views on this Convention—its necessity and its purpose. Those views were substantially expressed in my letter on the subject addressed to the Hon. Edward Blake in October last. It was felt then, as it is now, in order to obtain Home Rule or any other measure of justice from the Imperial Parliament, that the Irish National representatives should close their broken ranks, and re-establish amongst them unity of aim and action. The Convention was suggested as a means of effecting this desirable and necessary union. The earnestness and alacrity with which this idea was taken up by the Irish people at home and abroad proved that some such Convention was felt to be a necessary means of restoring unity to the Irish Parliamentary representatives, and that it was expected to be also an efficacious method of perpetuating that unity. The Convention is now a great and memorable fact. May the kind Providence of God direct and control its deliberations, and may this assemblage of Irishmen be the starting-point of a great partiotic movement that will find its issue in complete success for the cause of Home Rule, and in a glorious victory for the just liberties and rights of a sorely-tried and long-suffering people.

Believe me to be, my dear Father Ryan,

Yours very truly,

*JOHN WALSH,

Archbishop of Toronto.

Mr. DAVID SHEEHY, M.P., then read the following :-

Irish National Federation of America.
Secretary's Office, Room 26, Cooper Union, New York, August 19th, 1896.
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION AND IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY, DUBLIN,

Dear Sir—But for circumstances over which I have no control, resulting from a recent injury which has confined me to bed, I certainly would be with you as a delegate to the Race Convention soon to be held in Dublin. As a sincer friend of the movement to secure Home Rule for Ireland by constitutional means, I would like to offer a brief plea for unity, and to present a view of the present situation of affairs in Ireland as it appears to one placed, as I am, beyond the influence of the differences which now exist there, and which threaten to wreck the cause. It is but charitable to suppose that those who are directly responsible for the situation have been unable to realise the consequence, or to see beyond the exigencies of the petty and personal strief in which they are engaged. Those at a distance, who are free from every influence beyond the one wish—to accomplish the greatest good for those of the Irish race who have remained in Ireland—can certainly grasp the situation fully, and are the better able to suggest the remedy. The Irish who have been sent into exile for various causes, and are now scattered over the face of the carth, have kept green, under every vicissitude, their love of the old land, and have throughout evinced no less interest in the welfare of those left behind. Every appeal from famine and other distress has ever been generously responded to, and the contributions in the past by funds to improve the political and national condition of Ireland have been unprecedented as to the amount given and the extent of time through which the interest was maintained. It may be truly claimed that, but for 'his aid from abroad, Ireland to-day would be little better than a desert waste, and all trace of the Irish race would have disappeared long since, as the country became settled up by a foreign people.

long since, as the country became settled up by a foreign people.

With the growing dissensions of past years in Treland a large majority of the Irish people abroad have passed from a state of despair to one of apathy and of indifference. But while those who have given deeper thought to the situation have time and again been discouraged they have not lost faith in the future. The Race Convention now to be held is the outcome of this confidence, and the delegates who

attend from abroad have been selected as the fit representatives of those who constitute the most thoughtful element amongst the Irish race outside of Ireland. These men, therefore, have a right to a respectful hearing and to expect the honest co-operation of all who claim to be advocates of Itome Rule. One great object of the Convention is to enable everyone to throw aside past differences, all of which have had, to a great extent, no better foundation than misunderstanding. If it be true, as is held, that all, regardless of other differences, hold in common a desire to advance the interest of Ireland, then all can meet in this Convention without the slightest loss of self-respect. Support comes from the Irish people, and not in the interest of a single individual. It is therefore equally incumbent that he should honestly co-operate and contribute his best efforts to formluate some plan of organisation and policy for the future which will remove the condition from which he has suffered, and to which all may in common subscribe. But rest assured that the man who will not accept such an invitation is no friend to Ireland, and looks only to his own personal ends; his occupation would be gone if the Irish people were again united. Let him bear in mind that by his neglect of duty at this crisis he will place himself beyond the pale of sympathy when called upon on some future day to receive the verdict which will be passed inevitably upon him by the Irish people at Irage—an unenviable distinction will rest upon him.

anglect of duty at this crisis he will place himself beyond the pale of sympathy when called upon on some future day to receive the verdict which will be passed inevitably upon him by the Irish people at large—an unenviable distinction will rest upon him. The time has passed for all sentimentality, as it has seldom happened in the history of Ireland that a more important crisis than the present has presented itself. Home Rule cannot be gained at present without a united people to make the demand, and without it Ireland can have no future. While it is perfectly natural, and even essential, that individual differences of opinion should exist as to the proper mode of accomplishing any public movement, yet, as soon as a course has been determined upon by a fair vote of the majority, the limit of individual opposition has been reached. Unless this principle be fully acknowledged and a loyal co-operation be rendered afterwards to the will of majority, political success must fail in any movement. If an organisation cannot divest itself of such a stumbling block it should cease to exist. In truth is must be stated that the impression exists with us that the present condition of fafiairs in Ireland is to be traced directly to repudiation, or want of appreciation by a limited number, as to the vital importance of political success in accepting without question the will of the majority. Unless the people of Ireland are blind from partisan zeal, and the leaders are indifferent as to the future welfare of the country, all must now realise that the only remedy rests in throwing aside all past differences of opinion when faults have existed on all sides, and the nearest approach to unity of the people must be brought about at whatever individual cost. If this end be not accomplished at the coming Convention as the result of general co-operation by compromise and by individual sacrifice for the common good, then may God help Ireland. The end of all aid and sympathy from abroad will have been reached, and the universal verdict

Yours very truly,

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET. M.D.

Mr. Sheehy, M.P.—There are other letters, but they are so numerous that it is impossible to read them all. Therefore, they will be handed to the Press.*

The CHAIRMAN—Men of the Irish race, there is only one way in which I may hope to return thanks for the unique honour which this chair confers upon me. It is to launch at once on this magnificent Convention the business that has brought you here from the four shores of Ireland and from many lands beyond the seas. To you, gentlemen, our kith and kin, come home from abroad, we who live in the Green

^{*} These will be found at end of this day's proceedings.

Isle say from our hearts in the sweet language of your fathers, "Cead mille failte." In your love for Ireland you are here from the great Republic of the West, where so many millions of our people have built up for themselves a position and a name, and whence in times of trial has come to us the most generous support for every National demand. You are here from self-governing Canada, one of whose great Prelates first suggested this Convention to end our dissensions. You are come from friendly Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. You are come even from Australia, which has always vied with America in support of the National cause. You are here from Africa, where, in our days, to the South it promises to rival the Northern splendour of fifteen centuries ago. Then the never-failing Irishmen of England and Scotland are here; and lastly the tried men, priests and people, who live in the old land, in long array, from every county and every shore. You have come from near and far, at great inconvenience and expense, to work for the old cause, and to banish from our midst the bitterness of strife, filled with the idea that love of our motherland implies co-operation, and love, and friendship, and forbearances among ourselves in her cause. In my time I have seen the young family outcast on the roadside from the home the strong man had built; I have seen the priest dragged to prison for trying to shield the victims of such wrong; I have seen thousands of little boys and girls of from nine to twelve years hired into agricultural service far away from the homes where they ought to be at school; I have seen throngs of young people leaving the old and weakly behind, and hurrying to the emigrant ship; and I have often asked myself: Will the emigrants ever come back? Will they ever send us back the power to change these things and to undo these wrongs? Well-picked men of our race are nere to-day from every land of the Irish dispersion, and with God's blessing before they go back the foundations will be laid broad and deep of that victory-compelling unity which this great Convention was called to promote. The unseemly dissensions which led up to the adoption by the Irish Party of a resolution to take counsel of the Irish race are only too familiar to need any reference from me.

But in the last days of June this year an event occurred that of itself should demand the summoning of this Convention. That event was the publication of the report of the Financial Relations Commis-I do not refer to the separate reports, however important, signed by different groups of Commissioners; not even to the marvellously reasoned conclusions of one who above all others sustained the cause of Ireland on that Commission. What does the Report of the Commission itself say, with an approach to unanimity that is unparalleled in such things? What have the experts and custodians of the British Treasury endorsed? They find that this poor country at the very least is over-taxed between two and three millions a year. That is the rule, that is the administration for you of the stranger, and to improve my argument, let me say, if you will, the well-meaning stranger. When we talked of a genial climate, a fair soil, teeming seas, an intelligent people, and said there was something radically wrong with the system under which our population fled the country, and our cities and industries decayed, we were answered back that this might be tolerable as Irish sentiment, but that the Parliament of Westminster knew how to

make even justice prevail in its dealings with our country not less than in its treatment of any English county. At last the truth is out. This poor land, that shares so little in imperial expenditure, is despoiled by over-taxation. Her financial life-blood has been drained away until, from the industrial standpoint, she has been reduced to the condition of a perpetual invalid, while the neighbouring countries grow and prosper. Did the system against which we contend ever receive such a blow before? Let it go to the democracy of these countries and to the friendly peoples of the world that the existing system stands convicted of a monstrous wrong. It is the kind of wrong that all can appreciate, and for that very reason the report of the Financial Relations Commission, I venture to say, is an epoch-making event. It is a Nasmyth hammer with which to crush argumentative opposition to Home Rule.

But at a time when the National strength ought to be conscientiously applied to wield that hammer let us see that some of ourselves do not waste the needed energy or put the machinery out of gear. If ve had now the united party of 1880-1890, speaking with one voice in the Imperial Parliament on behalf of Ireland, ere this the leading men of both English parties would have been forward to acknowledge that the finding of the Commission is a huge outstanding fact that compels immediate attention from any statesman who will not deny the plain axiom that justice to the governed is an obligation of Government. Therefore, it is my opinion that if we do not now unite to press the unanswerable claims of our country, history ought to deal with the dissentients more severely than it does with the wars of clan on clan some centuries ago, or the divisions in the National ranks within living memory, when our people in '47 and '48 were slain in hecatombs by famine, and by pagan political economy, while two or three Irish parties contended for the National allegiance. There was far more to divide good Irishmen than there is now. And an event has occurred that ought to remake the whole Irish situation in the eyes even of English parties. Every pledge given against Home Rule is greatly in need of reconsideration in the light of the astounding financial wrong to Ireland that has been revealed, or rather proved conclusively this very year. The existing system is one of spoliation, and it is beyond the wit of man to devise any adequate remedy for stopping our current loss-not to speak of dealing with accumulated restitution-that will not comprise the establishment of self-government in Ireland.

We care not from which English party the Irish party extracts that right. We shall ever be grateful to the men who first emblazoned our cause on their banners and carried it successfully through the House of Commons. But Home Rule is now in money alone valued for us at a minimum English estimate of 2½ millions a year, and I say we owe independent opposition to every party that refuses that refund and the political machinery for its profitable public use. That is one suggestion for uniting again the ranks of Irish Nationalists; and I believe that if the Convention will issue some such declaration on the subject as submitted in more than one of the resolutions on the piper, much will be done towards promoting the unity we desire, even though we have not in this hall, I deeply regret to say, the advantage of the co-operation of all the Home Rule members. I go further, and say that by stating



JOHN DILLON, M.P. (See pp. 17, 245, 311, 313.)

anew what the Nationalist policy really is we can, through this Convention, make it so well understood that the public opinion of our race will, after a little, be everywhere at its back, and, despite delusive cries, require unity in the pursuit of it. Our political creed is an old one by which we mean to cling so long as God gives us strength to work for Ireland; and we have the men who have observed the constitution of the Irish Party, and who by their record in days of stress have shown that they possess the ability, the courage, and disinterestedness to give effect to Nationalist principles at any cost to themselves. Depend upon it anything that can be said against the independence of the Nationalist Party under Mr. M'Carthy or Mr. Dillon, might as well be said against it in the years that followed the cementing of the Liberal alliance under Mr. Parnell. The truth is the practical working out of independent opposition or independent support has its difficulties at every stage, and nothing appears easier than for any Nationalist member to make out some kind of case against his neighbour over any understanding with

an English party.

As an outsider I may be permitted to express a few thoughts further on the subject. It is the sense of the Convention that no man or set of men should be at all put in competition with the interests of Ireland. If that be so, the cause of Ireland must, a fortiori, be our standard in dealing with English parties. Therefore, the principle of independent opposition in our time is opposition to every party that won't grant the demands of Ireland-above all, the demand for national self-government, which we look upon as comprehensive of all others. Then, when any one party adopts your programme, the opposition as such ceases, and co-operation begins and continues, unless there is some failure in making good the compact. But, before either party adopts your programme on Home Rule, how far will you help them to pass other useful reforms? When one adopts it, how far will you help the other to pass useful legislation, or impede them as a means of forcing your National views? Again, in regard to the party that stakes its fortunes on your cause and shares your victories and reverses, if they fail to carry Home Rule through both Houses of Parliament, will you allow them to go on with English legislation either on the principle of mutual help or on the hope of improving the chances of Home Rule at an election? Again, what grievances in legislation or administration inflicted by a party favourable to Home Rule would amount to a sufficient reason, on National grounds, for defeating them in Parliament or at the polls?

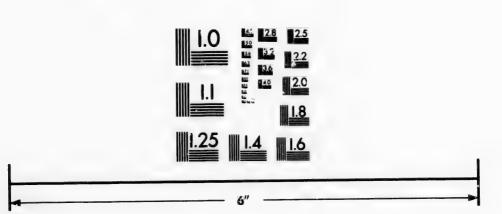
These are some of the questions that must inevitably claim solution at the hands of our Parliamentary representatives; and, in the nature of things, it seems to me there is only one rational way of solving them. Our members go to Westminster with a distinct mandate to wrest Home Rule by just means from Whig or Tory indifferently, and in the councils of the party, after mature deliberation, to determine how Ireland and the Irish cause requires the decision to be cast in the circumstances of each emergency. They make mistakes like other men. But do we expect in our time to have abler or more devoted representatives? I think not. Only, besides consulting their constituents often and fulfilling their covenants with them faithfully, they must work together in

Parliament in the spirit of their pledge, standing as one man, and speaking with one voice, and making our country respected before those who, so far, love not our cause. Without this discipline Mr. Pamell's splendid political genius could have done little; with it, under God's blessing, a just, wise, active, and bold policy is sure to succeed. No Englishman or set of Englishmen can keep Home Rule in the front of politics. What can and ought and will win the Irish cause is the united effort of the Irish race at home and abroad. Minor reforms are important. Some of our grievances clamour for redress. But they must not take our attention from the National remedy which a Parliament representative equally of every class and creed and interest in Ireland can supply. It will be seen hereafter that the Englishmen who are most friendly to Ireland in this respect are also the wisest friends of England. But we may be forgiven if, in her straits, our sympathy and interest be concentrated on our own poor country. In the single department of education, simply because the views of Ireland's representatives have been ignored, the primary education of the people was cast on lines that left our emigrants, as a body, without the least manual or technical training to compete in America or Australia with other nationalities drilled from childhood in the aptest ways to earn a livelihood, and after half-a-century of protest, we are still without a university for the Catholics of Ireland.

They say these grievances are now to be redressed. I hope they are; much better late than never. But if the redress comes, mark the time. It comes far too late; and until you have native government every other grievance will have to be agitated for perhaps half-a-century before a halting remedy is applied, and we will be always kept behind in the march of human progress. Now, we think this is a fate to which we ought not tamely submit. The mixed race that has sprung from this soil, with the blood of Celt and Saxon, Dane and Norman intermingled, has a mission of its own, a genius and ideal of its own, virtues and endowments of its own, faults and follies of its own, which give it a distinctive character in every land under the sun; and we want Ireland, the cradle-land and nursery of our race, to be guarded with loving care and tended with filial devotion, and developed by native genius. It is next to useless to argue our cause unless we stand united behind our arguments. Despair of winning anything by argument has driven poor Irishmen to deplorable deeds, for which an inhuman punishment has been exacted. Perhaps the report of the Financial Relations Commission will make the case of the poor political prisoners better understood. In any eye at, if this Convention proclaims the National policy on a basis broad and strong, and demands fidelity and discipline in carrying it out, the Irish people will be once more united, and, God giving it, no power shall be able to resist the justice of the Irish cause.

The CHAIRMAN, rising again—As regards the procedure, I have to announce to you that there are several resolutions and groups of resolutions on the agenda paper, and some resolutions have been handed up that are not on the agenda paper, and what I intend doing is to take the agenda paper in order, and, in the first place, I invivia. Webb to propose the series of resolutions that stand in his na When these resolutions are seconded in globo, they shall be put separately one by

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one, beginning with the first for discussion, or amendment, or approval, or rejection; and as the debate goes on I shall try to find what other resolutions submitted to the Convention are germane to those that come first, so as to allow the whole discussion to go on together. One word more, which I know is unnecessary. In the Convention on Tara in ancient Erin, the representative Irishmen there assembled enjoyed privileges which members attending a modern Parliament might well envy. But any violence or insulting language was severely banned as being unworthy of an Irish deliberative assembly. I am sure that, while the delegates here will freely use their right to speak their own views, and the convictions of those who sent them, on unity or dissension, or policy, or public organisation, or party, or leaders, or finances, the manly, self-respecting, high-toned spirit of the past will be perpetuated

in this great Democratic Convention of Irish representatives.

Mr. Alfred Webb-My lord and fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, it is impossible not to feel deeply moved in laying these resolutions before this great assembly, the most widely representative of Irish feeling at home and abroad that I have had the honour to attend. Men come and go; the personnel alters from generation to generation; yet the National movement ever renews itself, and urges forward deep and strong in our day as in that of our fathers. I bring these resolutions forward as a basis for discussion, trusting that movers and seconders will be found to introduce them separately and seriatim. They so fully express my sentiments, my longings, at this important crisis, that there is little need I should with many words stand between you and them, and really important and representative speakers. Let me, however, express the spirit with which they have been prepared, and in which I trust they will be discussed. We assert the nationality of our country-dearer to us than life, essential to her progress, essential to her well-being, essential for union within her shores, essential to a real union with Great Britain. We in this land are not necessarily two nations. There is not a righteous interest that every man, woman and child within the four seas of Ireland does not share in common. The strife between us and England, which has prevailed through the ages, and which will prevail so long as the attempted stifling of our aspirations cries out to heaven, is unnecessary. We all desire its termination. Ireland is qualified to be the best friend England ever had. We can never forget, and shall never forget, the thousands of England's sons and daughters, who, especially of late years, have proved themselves our most sincere and devoted friends. We desire, forgetting past differences, to extend the hand of fellowship to all willing to aid in the regeneration of our country. A united party—a party in which the views of all will be considered, but which can be relied upon to act as one, will be the best means to that end. For the maintenance and efficiency of such a party effective discipline will be necessary; neither constituencies nor the country at large will rest satisfied with pledges, professed in the letter, broken in the spirit. We feel for all who have been led into evil ways by a state of things in which justice is "sold, denied, or delayed," and every other feeling is obliterated in commiseration for brutal treatment-for treatment meted out by no other western nation to political offenders-for treatment which in the light



ALFRED WEBB. (See pp. 148, 162.)



JUSTIN McCARTHY, M.P. (See pp. 23, 153, 169.)



MICHAEL DAVITT, M.P. (See pp. 26, 293.)



VERY REV. PATRICK CANON LYNSKEY. (See pp. 29, 183.)

of recent events startingly brings into relief the fact that there is one law for the Englishman and another for the Irishman; one law for the rich and titled, another for the ordinary citizen. We desire to press forward in the work of making the lives of the masses of our peoplewhether in town or country-better, happier, and brighter. We desire that education should be brought fully into accord with the religious feelings of our people. We desire that Irishmen should have the same rights in the matter of county and municipal government as the people of Great Britain. We are determined that the inequalities and wrongs of the present system of taxation shall be altered. We believe that the preservation of the ancient language of the country tends to raise the thoughts of our people, to open for them an inspiring field of mental culture, and to make them better citizens. There are the sentiments that I feel sure will animate our discussions, and that will be voiced in the resolutions that will be passed. This Convention is a supreme effort for reconciliation and unity. We trust it will prevail. But if, unhappily, it should not, none, either at home or abroad, will be absolved from the duty of carrying on the work as best they may, of throwing in their lot with and aiding to the best of their ability that body of men which show themselves most ready to forget the past, to bury differences, to join heart and hand for Ireland, and who thus prove themselves likely to be most powerful in forwarding the sacred cause of their country's redemption. I beg to introduce the following resolutions:-

- (1) REUNION.—"Seeing that divisions amongst Irish Nationalist representatives paralyse to a great extent their power of serving Ireland, cast discredit on the country, and tend to alienate the support of the Irish Race and to destroy their confidence in the efficacy of Parliamentary action, we record our firm conviction that it is of the first importance to Ireland that the Nationalist representatives in Parliament should be reunited into one Party; and, in the spirit of the recent resolution of the Irish Party, we declare that, 'In our earnest desire to accomplish that result, we are prepared to meet on fair and equal terms all Nationalists who will join in the attempt to reconstitute a united Home Rule Party, in which every supporter of the movement shall be cordially received and justly considered, regardless of all past differences, and having regard only to his capacity to render service to the common cause.' We are glad to observe in the composition of this Convention and in the spirit shown throughout the country, marked evidence of a growing tendency to reunion, and we invite the Irish Nationalist Party to take such further steps as may to them seem calculated to promote the cause of reunion."
- (2) UNITY.—"That we recognise as the essential element of the existence of an effective Irish Party the hearty co-operation and cheerful subordination of each individual in carrying out the Party policy, as settled (after free discussion) by the judgment of the greater number. That while we are glad to observe that on grave questions there have been but few intelligible differences of opinion in the Irish Party, and none difficult of reconciliation by reasonable men willing to agree, we most strongly condemn those public disputes regarding minor questions of persons and tactics which have so gravely impaired the power of the Party. We solemnly call upon every man belonging to the Irish Party, in answer to the prayers of our people all the world over, to forget old differences, to sink personal feelings, and to act for the future as good comrades and fellow-soldiers in the spirit of this resolution and in the support of that party unity on which the fate of Ireland so largely depends. We ask the Irish Party to take such steps as may in their judgment be found necessary to the establishment of unity and discipline in their own ranks, in accordance with the resolutions of this Convention; and we assure them of our unfailing support in the execution of this essential task."
- (3) HOME RULE.—"That this Irish Race Convention reasserts the immemorial claim of IRELAND A NATION. We declare that England is governing Ireland wrong-

fully, by coercion, and against the people's will; that each year proves afresh the futility of the attempt; that Irish evils mainly flow from alien, irresponsible, uniformed, and unsympathetic rule; and that no policy, whether of severe repression or of partial concession, can allay her rightful discontent, or will slacken her efforts to obtain a Legislature and an Executive making and administering laws for Ireland by Irishmen on Irish soil. We declare it the prime duty of the Irish Parliamentary Party to continue to maintain its absolute independence of English Political Parties, and thus to preserve its freedom to give an independent opposition or an independent support to any Party, as may seem best in the interests of the National cause.

(4) AMNESTY.—"That, while hailing with satisfaction the release of some of the Irish Political Prisoners, we are indignant that relief has come so late, after their health had been broken by long years of suffering. We condemn the brotal treatment which England, while boasting herself to be the advanced guard of freedom amongst the nations, inflicts on political prisoners sentenced for offences arising out of Irish grievances. We mark the contrast in feeling and in action exhibited by England towards the Irish prisoners and towards other political offenders, as for instance, the Johannesburg Committee and the Jameson Raiders. We call for the immediate liberation of all the remaining Irish political prisoners still enduring the horrors of penal servitude, and we request the Irish Parliamentary representatives to press with insistent urgency for their release."

(5) Land.—"That the Irish landlord system and methods have tended to impoverish, exterminate, and expel the Irish race, and have thus been the fruitful source of misery, discontent, violence and disturbance in Ireland. That the last Land Act, while bettering the condition of certain classes, fails to give the vast majority of the Irish tenantry that security against excessive rents and confiscation of improvements which is essential to their well-being and to the success of any scheme of land purchase; fails to give necessary powers for the enlargement of too small holdings by the compulsory purchase of grass lands from which the people have been driven, and fails to make adequate provision for the restoration to their homes of the evicted tenants, to whose courage and endurance such benefits as the farmers of Ireland have obtained are largely due, and whose case must ever appeal to the sense of honour and gratitude of their fellow-countrymen. We condemn the lateness of the period and the shortness of the time allowed for discussion, and the indecent threats of withdrawal, by which legitimate debate was curtailed; and we declare that the Act cannot be accepted even as a temporary settlement, and that the only hope of the tenantry rests in a united and determined Parliamentary Party, backed by a great agarain combination, watching the operation of the Land Laws, exposing cases of injustice, and demanding a full measure of reform."

(6) TAXATION.—"That we rejoice that the evidence taken before the Financial Commission has at length made too clear for argument the injustice under which Ireland has been so long and is still labouring in the matter of Imperial taxation, and we record our grateful thanks to Mr. Sexton for his arduous and most successful labours in this regard. We call upon the Irish Party, at the earliest moment, to press upon Parliament our demand for the redress of past wrongs, and for the relief from present unequal burdens imposed by the representatives of rich and powerful Britain upon weakened and impoverished Ireland."

(7) LABOUR.—"That, while we hail with satisfaction the improved condition of those labourers for whom homes have been provided under the Labourers' Act, we regret that the great body are still without decent habitations and plots of land. Notwithstanding recent improvements, we claim that, whilst maintaining due supervision, the procedure should be further shortened, simplified, and cheapened, the appeal to the Privy Council abolished, and the Act made more widely useful; and that the Irish labourers shall be given the same franchise for the elections of Guardians as is possessed by the English labourers; that we recognise the just claim of urban labour to an improvement in the laws as applicable to the housing of the working classes of the towns, and we sympathise with every effort for a reasonable reduction in the hours of daily toil."

(8) LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—"That we condemn the non-representative and irresponsible system of Local Government in Irish counties by Grand Juries, and the narrowness of the franchise in Irish boroughs; we demand the immediate application in Ireland to Local Government, in all its branches, of those principles of democratic control which have been so fully carried out in Great Britain."

(9) EDUCATION.—"That for Catholics we demand perfect equality in the law and administration in the matter of education—primary, intermediate, and university—and the recognition therein not only of the national spirit, but also of the highest educational right—namely, the religious training of youth in accordance with the priceless principles of religious liberty and freedom of conscience; we demand the establishment of a University which shall afford to the Catholic people of Ireland educational opportunities equal to those enjoyed by the favoured minority of her population in the University of Dublin; we ask for a practical extension of technical education in agriculture and other industrial arts on a system adapted to the special period of Ireland, so that there children may be better fitted to develon the resources of needs of Ireland, so that her children may be better fitted to develop the resources of their country."

(10) GAELIC LANGUAGE.—" We hall with satisfaction the successful efforts that are being made at home and abroad to revive and extend interest in the preservation of the Gaelic longue, and we urge upon all those who can further the interests of this novement to give every help and encouragement to the preservation and study of our ancient Irish tongue by the children of the Gael?

Rev. Dr. RYAN, of Toronto, rose to second the introduction of the resolutions I to 10-My lord, chairman and gentlemen of the Irish Race Convention, I deem it a great honour to be invited to address this magnificent gathering of the men of the Irish race, and I consider it an especial privilege to be asked to second these resolutions. Now, gentlemen, before i speak to these resolutions I would like briefly to define clearly and distinctly my position and the position of my fellow delegates before this Convention and before this country. I am here essentially in a representative capacity. In the first place I represent the Archbishop of Toronto. I think, gentlemen, you will admit that that has been abundantly proved by the letter of his Grace which I have read to this Convention. I am here secondly as the representative of the Irish people of Toronto, and it will suffice to tell you our methods, our democratic methods, in electing delegates to show you that I and my fellowdelegates are truly and honestly the accredited and authorised representatives of our country. Bear with me while I briefly tell you how the thing was done. The parishioners were asked to assemble and discuss the consideration of choosing delegates, and so they did. Then, electors were chosen from different parishes of the city of Toronto, came together, and in the same free and untrammelled assembly discussed and considered those elected representatives. These are our ways of electing delegates in Canada, and, therefore, we, perhaps unworthy-that is not for us to say-we are the duly elected, authorised, and accredited representatives of the City of Toronto. The same method was observed in all other Canadian cities, and, I believe, in the cities of the United States, and, therefore, I wish to emphasise the fact that we come here as duly authorised and accredited representatives of the Irish race in America. But now, gentlemen, a word on these resolutions. Perhaps it may seem a little hazardous to begin so early in the day in this discussion-for I wish to tell you, gentlemen of the Convention, that we come here perfectly free and independent. I take these resolutions as they have been read, and I wish the Convention to clearly understand that, They have been read in globo, they will be taken up afterwards in particular, and proposed and seconded, and put to you for discussion, amendment, or rejection, as you may think fit. Therefore, I take them in general. The three first resolutions, perhaps, more nearly concern the foreign delegates than the domestic considerations in the others, of which the people at home are the best judges. The first resolution seems to me to embody what were the ideas of the man I represent, the Archbishop of Toronto. He said: "You understand my mind thoroughly on this question." He has written it, and I have read it for you—"Tell them, in brief, that I agree with all my heart in Home Rule for Ireland; that I believe Ireland has a right to make laws for Ireland; that I believe Ireland will not only be more prosperous at home, but will be a greater strength to the Empire if she has the Home Rule to which she is entitled. We say here, as our Premier in Canada lately said: 'We in Canada', he said, 'are a loyal people because we are a free people.' "And tell them further," said the Archbishop of Toronto, "that as Ireland has the right to Home Rule in a native Legislature, so has she the power to obtain Home Rule. And that power, say it," he continues, "that power to obtain Home Rule is a united I ish people and a unite." Parliamentary Party." Therefore, coming here I find these resolutions that seem to me almost in the very wording to express the

ideas and thoughts of his Grace of Toronto.

Now, my dear friends, we come not to any party, to any man. We come to Ireland, to the Irish people. We come to the Irish nation, and we speak to the heart of the Irish nation. We care not for party, and we care not for persons. That is perhaps your affair, and you have the intelligence and the power to settle your own affairs. But we say this, as coming from abroad, that in every representative political action there must be a party, and in every party, to have it truly representative, there must be freedom of private discussion, but there must be, too, strong insistence on the practical principle of majority rule, and following sharp and fast on the insistence on majority rule, a loyal obedience to the authorised expression of the people's will. These are, in general, the elements of any successful and united party. friends of the Irish Race Convention, I say we come here not to dictate, we come here to suggest, we come here to advise, we come here independent, and that independence we shall preserve. We are not committed to any man or to any party, much less are we controlled by any man. We come in the cause of Ireland, and we stand by the Irish people, and what to the Irish people in their united strength may seem best to do, that the Irish abroad will stand by, and that they are determined to maintain. Now, in conclusion, I would say this as a Canadian representative, that we, perhaps, have some special right to be here, for you know that Ireland has appealed to Canada. Ireland appealed to Canada for sympathy and moral support, and the answer was two historic resolutions in our free Dominion Parliament of Canada. One of these resolutions was proposed by a representative and leading man of one party, the Conservative Party. It was proposed by the Hon, John Costigan, or as we call him familiarly in Canada—though he has been for a long time a politician-we call him the "honest John Costigan." He proposed the first resolution of sympathy for Ireland in the Canadian Parliament, and again Canada answered. Then another resolution was proposed by the Hon. Edward Blake, the then leader of the Liberal Party in the Canadian House of Commons. And again Ireland spoke to Canada—this time for financial aid—and we gladly, and immediately, and generously responded according to our



DR. ROBERT AMBROSE, M.P. (See pp. 32, 163.)



REV. FRANK RYAN, D.D. (See pp. 39, 155, 166,)



HON. EDWARD BLAKE, M.P. (See pp. 20, 232, 290, 317.)



DAVID SHEEHY, M.P. (See pp. 42, 155.)

means. And the third time Ireland appealed to Canada-this time not for moral support, not for financial aid-she asked for more, Ireland asked Canada for a man, and we looked round about and we selected one of our ablest, bravest, and best-a knight without reproach, and we know him-the Hon, Edward Blake; and we answered your appeal and sent you a man to help you in your Parliamentary work and warfare. But now it is Canada's turn to appeal to Ireland. We do not seem to ask for much, my dear friends, yet indeed it is much. We appeal to you to be united. I know very well that reunion will cost some sacrificesome personal sacrifice—but if I read the story of Ireland right I find that Ireland has been a sacrificial country and the Irish a sacrificial people, and I know that that spirit of sacrifice would cause them to sacrifice themselves for their country's sake. Now, it may be necessary to have personal sacrifices, and great personal sacrifices. But oh! the cause is mightier, the cause is greater than any individual in the country, and therefore we appeal for this unity, and men of the Irish race, let not our appeal go unheard. It is a reasonable appeal, it is a righteous appeal, it is a holy appeal, and let us go back to gladden the hearts of our people and be able to tell them that the Convention has indeed attained its end. Not completely—we are not fools enough to think that, but as our distinguished and able and eloquent chairmanand I am glad he is chairman-says, all we can hope to do now is to lay the foundations broad and deep and strong, and therefore to give hope to our people-hope and aspiration for the future-that we may depend upon it now-that we shall have what the Archbishop of Toronto wants -the unity of the Irish people at home and abroad, and in that cause as our able chairman has said, a united Irish people at home and abroad must compel unity at home. And that is the power, and the only power, that can lead us on to victory for the cause we love so well-Home Rule for Ireland.

The CHAIRMAN.—The introduction of the resolutions has been proposed and seconded, and now Mr. Justin M'Carthy is going to speak to

the first resolution.

Mr. Justin M'Carthy, M.P.—My lord and fellow-countrymen—I am anxious to say a few words, and they shall be only a few, in support of this first resolution which you all have before you. There is no need of my taking up your time with any lengthened address, because the magnificent and convincing speeches you have heard can have left no doubt on the mind of any man here as to the course he is bound to pursue for the sake and in the cause of his country. No Convention ever held in Ireland, or that could be held, could have opened more auspiciously than this Convention to-day. We began with that most gracious and benignant message from his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. We had the wise and powerful letter of his Grace the Archbishop of Toronto, and we had the letter of my personal friend, and the friend of many here, the Irishman who bears the illustrious Irish name of Thomas Addis Emmet. I do not know how any Irish Convention could be opened more auspiciously than by messages such as these. Now, we have two powerful motives in calling this Convention. The first is to bury the past, and to take counsel together and make resolve for the future. These two results are to be brought about by the common

consent of such representative Irishmen as are gathered so successfully in this hall to-day. Now it may be asked why did we—why, that is to say, did that section of the Irish Parliamentary Party to which I belong -why did we put ourselves forward to bring together this Convention? Well, for one reason. Because we are numerically by far the strongest Irish Party, and therefore, we felt that it became us to hold out the hand of brotherhood and friendship to other Irishmen. I am bound to say, and I am sure I speak for all my friends, that if any such appeal had been made to us by any body, however small, of Irish Nationalists, we should have welcomed that appeal and made the most practical response to its application. But we thought we were bound to come forward as no such appeal was made to us, and say to all Irishmen who believe in Home Rule, and work and hope for its success, we thought our duty was to say to them, "Come in and work with us on the old lines and on the old principle, that the majority shall decide the course of political action. Come in and join with us. We ask for no open act or act of penitence; we are willing to believe you were actuated with the best motive, but only let the dead past bury its dead, and now come in and work with us once again in harmony for the cause of Ireland."

Surely that appeal ought have been promptly and generously responded to by other Irish Nationalists. It may be even yet. I am not going to anticipate any evil result or failure. Now let me remind this meeting what was the course in the old days when we turned out Government after Government, and made it plain to every English Government that without the consent of Irish National members nothing could be done in the House of Commons. What was our policy then? It was this. At any crisis we held a meeting of the Party. There were many divisions of opinion in these consultations. Every man, even the youngest raw recruit, gave free expression of his opinion. We debated every question out, and then we took a vote, and the decision of the majority ruled the whole Party; and many a time, and not before the division in the House of Commons was taken, the Irish Party after a debate for hours in the Parliament in which all manners of opinion were expressed, the Irish Party went into the division lobby as one man. Now, we want to restore that condition of things. We want to get all Irish Nationalists to work on that same principle. But let me tell you, that human wit can discover no other way for conducting a Parliamentary movement to success but on the principle that the party shall be bound by the decision of its majority. Debate as we will amongst ourselves, when a vote is taken we must become as one instrument and one man again. It is my belief, and the belief, I hope, of all of us here, that a Convention such as this will be able to enforce that principle again. If you enforce that principle we shall be only too glad to welcome back any fellow-Nationalist who may have differed from us for any reason— we shall welcome him back, and be prepared and glad to work with him until the end is gained. But when the principle of the command of control by the majority is not recognised, then he indeed must be a sanguine man who could say he saw a chance of the near success of the Irish Nationalist cause.

Mr. Thomas Hunt, of Melbourne, Australia—My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I come before you to-day with a message of peace and with

a request for national unity. I have heard of people going through fire and water to serve their country. I may claim to have gone through a portion of the latter element, for I may tell you that to pass through the Red Sea will give you more notion of what a reward there may be in future for those who are alive in Ireland. I came here from a free country, blessed with one of the freest constitutions in the world-I have come here representing the people of Victoria, and the only reward I shall look forward to—I suppose I shall not myself see the day when Home Rule is granted—is that some descendant or friend of mine may be able to point to this, one of the noblest historic gatherings that ever assembled, and point to me as one who took a small part, indeed, in the deliberations of one of the finest assemblies that ever I had the honour to address. One or two things suggest themselves to me principally as auguries, and good auguries indeed, for the future. One is the circumstance that this gathering is presided over by the eminent gentleman who left nothing for men like myself to say, because he has sounded faithfully and fearlessly, and with great ability, which all of us admire, the true key of national unity, and coming from a democratic community myself, and caring very little for individuals, and who were in the front or in the rere in the great battle for Ireland, coming to you with this message I say, that it augurs well for this great gathering that you should be addressed in the tone and spirit that you were in the beginning; and it is a further augury for your success that we have had bestowed on us the blessing of the Head of the Church to which, I presume, most of us belong. Another thing I may be allowed to allude to, and that is the pleasure it affords me to see so many of my fair countrywomen adorning this hall. I am proud of that circumstance, and I hope to be able to carry back to my friends in Victoria the proud message that they, by their presence, have contributed largely to unity in the Irish ranks. I disclaim possession of the gift of eloquence of some of your great countrymen who have kissed the Blarney Stone. But I hope to be able to see that stone before I leave Ireland, and after I get back to my people in Victoria I shall then for the first time in my life be able to claim some of that eloquence that people who have kissed the Blarney Stone are supposed to acquire. But I have been connected with politics in America. As a little boy, in '58, with my father and mother, I had to become practically an alien to my countrymen, for the reason that there were no opportunites for a growing up family. I was born in the historic county of Tipperary, and left there thirty-eight years ago with very poor prospects indeed. We, Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen in Australia, may be said to number one-fourth of the population. In that respect we were necessarily handicapped in the race for prosperity, and also by the fact that the other three-fourths had had better opportunities of technical and other instruction than we had. But, notwithstanding all the difficulties, I am a very poor specimen indeed of the many Irishmen who have forced their way to the front in Australia. But I am proud to say that in my small way I performed my duty as a man, and never forgot where I was born and the land that I love. Whilst I say that, it is only natural, coming from a free country, that I should love the soil of that country as I do. In that country indeed it is very rarely that disloyalty to the silken connection with the British Crown is heard of, But if this disloyalty to the Crown is spoken of in any way it is not by Irishmen, but by somebody else, thereby showing that, given the same conditions of life and the same opportunities in Ireland to govern ourselves by and for the people, I say there would be no more loyal or true race, a race that would tend to build up, consolidate, and solidify the empire you now depise.

I don't want to trench too much on your time, as I am, as you may imagine, naturally of a modest disposition, coming from the country I do, and scarcely knowing your habits in this, as appears to me, almost a foreign country, but I wish to say that since I came here I am exceedingly pleased with this beautiful historic city of Dublin, and, as compared with many of the cities on the Continent and elsewhere that I have had an opportunity of visiting, there is not a sounder political atmosphere-certainly a purer moral atmosphere-in the world, but it is for us here assembled to try and make the political atmosphere purer. I believe it is quite within your power; but coming from a country where we are small in proportion to the population, I think it right to tell you there is not a man in this assembly has a stronger feeling as to the rights of minorities. I would coerce no man to fall into our ranks even for the cause of Home Rule. I would not coerce him in that direction, but if our National Party is to be a factor in bringing about Home Rule, and if there is to be a National Government in Ireland at any time, we can get it not by internecine struggles. We can't get it, as has been said to day, by bringing up the dead ashes of the past. We must consider those who are opposed to us, and while not desiring to force our own opinions, we should be generous to those who are in a minority, because by that means—those are the only means-we can conciliate them and bring them into line in the direction we desire. I have belonged to a political party, and confidentially I may refer to one issue on which I took the right on a public platform to say in opposition to the party-that I would do my own small best in the direction of securing the right for the people to whom I belonged, to educate their children in a Christian fashion. I held that right individually, but if the conditions in Victoria were the same as they are here, I would advocate in my own party the necessity of enforcing education in the direction I required; but if my own party determined that the lines I was advocating were lines that they could not accept, I honestly say I would keep my mind on that point, or retire from the party altogether. Except with that spirit there can be no party government-and let me say, that party government here is somewhat different to that of our country, because we fight party against party for local political issues, while in this country you have only to fight the foreign enemy to restore your freedom. I fear again I am presuming too much upon your indulgence, but I prepared no speech and I prefer the impromptu to the carefully prepared speech. I think I may be excused if I refer to one or two other topics which touch this resolution-in fact series of resolutions.

At least 200 delegates met in an Hibernian Hall in Melbourne, representatives from every town and hamlet in the country, and I was chosen to attend on their behalf as their delegate at this great Convention. I came here as free as the atmosphere, so far as I am concerned, not bound in any way to any individual, no matter what might be said

outside-and, perhaps, there are some outside who are willing to traduce instead of praise men who came here for the unselfish, devoted, and, I might say, noble purpose of even trying to assist the people of Ireland to secure the restoration of that independence of which she was robbed. I was also asked, coming through South Australia, to represent the people of that colony, nearly as large as the whole of Europe. We have in the six colonies six legislatures independent of one another, while in all, there is not a population equal to the decimated Ir's population. There are something like three or four millions of people in the group of colonies having separate and independent legislatures. Each works out its political destinies. They are progressive, and in the matter of reform they conduct themselves as respectable citizens. Surely this spirit of democracy would be brought about if we had a United Ireland. On behalf of the people I represent, I ask for unity, and then Home Rule must necessarily follow. Let me, then, have a small recompense for coming through fire and water to reach here, and I say that no other mission in the world would have brought me to undertake such a journey. My wife, who is an Australian native-I do not mean to tell you she is a black, because that would be creating a false impression—she said to me when she learned of the object of my intended mission: "You must assuredly go." I felt proud of that encouragement, and nothing more fully fortified me than as a small recompense for the journey I have undertaken, coming from the remotest part of the earth, to see that unity will take place amongst the people. Home Rule for Ireland, which was unfashionable some time ago in Victoria, is quite fashionable now. Not only had Irishmen espoused the cause of their brethren at home, but by their action they had won many friends from the English amongst whom they lived. They all agreed and admired the liberal spirit in which some Englishmen had turned to the just cause of Ireland when once the prejudice was removed from their eyes, and when they became just in their better feelings.

Rev. DENIS O'CALLAGHAN, Boston-Most rev. chairman and fellow-countrymen, the city of Boston, in the old colony of Massachusetts, merits, I think, a word before this presence and before this illustrious assembly of Irishmen, gathered from far and from near to consult together on Irish affairs. No one, I think, at all acquainted with National affairs abroad during the past two decades of years, to go back no further, will deny that Boston-and when I speak of Boston, I think I can well include all the New England States (New York is able to reply for itself)-has ever failed in its duty of granting support to the National cause and upholding the hands of Ireland's children on their native heath. I feel justified in saying, from a thorough knowledge of what the Irish people in the New England States, and in Boston in a special manner, have done, that among all the States of our fair Republic, Boston has ever held, and holds to-day, a good second place. Where in my city has not the beat of the National pulse ever been felt, and the hearts of the people not depressed or joyful, whenever news came from across the waters of the success or failure of the Irish cause? There are some fellow-countrymen, I feel, on this platform to-day, and perchance among you, who may well recall the time, in the crisis of Irish National affairs, when the affairs of Ireland were more or less in the balance, how



HEV. JALLES M'FADDEN. (See pp. 34, 153.)



RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR KELLY. (See pp. 37, 154.)



THOMAS SEXTON. (See p. 41.)



WILLIAM O'BRIEN. (See pp. 121, 282.)

the clergy of the Archdiocese of Boston, under the leadership of their illustrious and distinguished Metropolitan, assembled in council together, and sent across the waters words of cheer, and also substantial aid, to help the cause of Ireland. And, fellow-countrymen, the thought occurred to me to pay a visit to my native land on the occasion of this Convention, and I want to say here, in allusion to our distant friend who crossed the waters of the Red Sea, who proclaimed himself a Tipperary man, I proclaim myself a child of Rebel Cork. But, as in duty bound, I called upon our illustrious Most Rev. Archbishop John J. Williams, and said to him: "Your Grace, I have been requested by some of the patriotic Irishmen of Boston to come and attend this Convention." The illustrious prelate—and here, in this distinguished presence, I will say no truer Irishman walks the American soil—said to me, raising aloft his venerable hands: "Go, in God's name, and if you can say a word for unity amongst Irishmen, you will have done more than a ything else, as a man, for Irish affairs." And in this connection, whilst speaking of his venerable name, allow me to join in connection with it the name of another Irishman-an Irishman, in one sense, more true, because born on Irish soil, venerated wherever an exile Gael has gone—I allude to him whom all Irishmen mourn, the late distinguished and patriotic John Boyle O'Reilly. Three days before he died I walked with him in the streets of Boston—Washington Street, I think—and our conversation was on Irish affairs. It was some time before his sad death, before disunion came amongst Irishmen, and the fair flag of unity was held still aloft, and turning to me, he said: "Father, it is an honour and a glory to-day to be an Irishman in the clubs of Boston." "And why is this?" said I. "Simply because the charge seems to be cast aside that Irishmen cannot be united once again, and they are proud, those who had previously kept their Irish origin concealed, they are now proud of their countrymen in Ireland." But from the time, and from that sad time, when Ireland's flag went down by disunion, apathy and deep-seated discouragement had taken possession of the people of Boston and of New England. But they have commissioned me, gentlemen, to come here and tell the reason why they feel so. Their hearts are still warm for Ireland and Irishmen, but they are discouraged and they are saddened by the dissension which prevails at home. It is patent to them that a hopeless disunion prevails amongst Irishmen, and it is patent to the enemies of Ireland as well, and they cry out: "Oh! my God, will this continue?" And they say: "May the watchful spirits and guardians that watch over the towns and hamlets of Ireland prevent it from taking place;" and they say: "May the martyred spirits, the martyred souls for Ireland's faith and Irish freedom, prevent the dire accomplishment." And hence they said to me: "In our name, say to the men of Ireland that if Ireland wants prosperity—if it desires peace-if, in the days of the near future or the remote, they desire Boston's aid and Boston's co-operation-then must they believe in and live up to that ancient maxim, as old as the hills: 'United we stand, divided we fall.'" Such are the convictions of the people of Boston, and I can only say, in their name, that when union prevails amongst you once again, they will stand forth and rally round the Irish flag, just as they have ever done in the days of the past.

Mr. Moses Cornwall, Kimberley, South Africa-My lord bishop and gentlemen, I assure you that I rise with a feeling of pride, mingled with fear, to address this glorious gathering of Irishmen, many of them from distant parts of the world, assembled here for the noble object of trying to restore peace and harmony in the distracted ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Pride, I say, because for the first time in my life I have the opportunity and privilege of addressing my countrymen in my native land, and fear lest I might fail to place before you the sorrow and shame which the unhappy divisions existing amongst men that ought to be united have brought to the hearts of those I represent in distant Africa, and other parts of the world. A short time ago I was honoured by my fellow-countrymen to represent them at this Convention. I told them I would attend, not as a Dillonite, Healyite, or Parnellite, but as an Irishman, and that statement met with the unanimous approval of those present on that occasion. It is, my lord, incomprehensible to Irishmen abroad why men professing to have the same object at heart should be divided into different sections and factions-quarrelling amongst themselves about non-essentials, and disgracing their country's cause. These quarrels and factions alienate the support of thousands of Englishmen and Irishmen. I do not know what is the experience of those gentlemen representing Irishmen in other British Colonies, but my own has been a sad and bitter one. Many colonists holding high and honourable positions whom I have the honour of knowing, and who up to recent times were ardent Home Rulers, have changed and modified their opinions, not because they think it would not be right and proper to give Irishmen the right to make their own laws in their own land, but because they feel that if ever the right were conceded these wretched quarrels would be increased and even intensified. I appeal to all who come here, not as partisans but as Irishmen, to say if these gentlemen are justified in thinking so? It is a mistake to consider that this feeling is confined to Englishmen alone. Thousands of Irishmen like myself, who have spent their lives abroad, and others who equally love Ireland though they never set foot on its green shores, but who have heard from their parents' lips the story of her wrongs, have grown lukewarm in their support of Home Rule. I may tell you, that the overwhelming majority of the Irishmen of South Africa are in favour of Home Rule. Living in a land where every man has equal rights, and fair play, they are loyal to the Queen and Constitution. Irishmen in past times have filled some of the most important positions in the colony, and at the present time I need only name Sir Thomas Uppington and Lord Rosmead, the Governor and High Commissioner, who is an Irishman and a Home Ruler. The people there believe that the people of Ireland should be granted the right to make their own laws in their own land-a right which every free people should enjoy, and which has been conceded to nearly all colonies, and that all matters appertaining to the Empire should be discussed in the Imperial Parliament, where Irishmen should have a proper proportion of representatives. The Irish people in the Colonies would never consent if they had a voice in the matter to be deprived of a share in that mighty Empire, in building up which our countrymen took such a part, and which has afforded a home to numbers of our race. The Colonies and India do not belong to England alone,

They belong to Great Britain and Ireland, and he would be a poor Irishman who would willingly forego a right to his share in such an Empire. We also believe that the granting of Home Rule would enable a local parliament to develop the resources of the country and encourage industries, and do many other things which are now utterly neglected by the Imperial Parliament through want of time to attend to them, as well as from a want of knowledge to understand them. We also believe that the granting of Home Rule to Ireland would bring together men of different views and religions who now keep aloof from the movement. We believe, above all things, that Home Rule would bring back to our country the peace and happiness for which Grattan, O'Connell, and Parnell, and innumerable Irishmen fought and struggled, and for which men of our race will continue to struggle, until this boon is granted, but which will never be achieved until we put an end to dissension. Let us only be united, and let us prove to the world that we are fit and determined to achieve our independence, and no power on earth will in time prevent us from achieving our object. I will not detain you any longer. There are a number of other gentlemen here who, by their experience, are better qualified to speak to you. I thank you very kindly for your patient hearing, and I have much pleasure in supporting the resolutions before you.

Mr. CHARLES H. BROMBY, North Tasmania-My lord and brother delegates, I have been sent from an island so far away that it is not even marked upon that large map of the world which decorates the card of admission here to-day; but though far away, I can tell you that the hearts of Irishmen there beat strongly with love of their native land; and their children, who have never seen Ireland, and will, perhaps, never see it, are brought up with the same love of country as they themselves who have been exiled from this soil. In some ways it seems to me that the island in the seas so far away further resembles our own island at home in many respects. They resemble each other certainly both in physical appearance and also in the beauty of their women. The people there also resemble the Irish people in this, that they are as fond of a little friction when they come to deal with political questions. We fight and go for one another on such small questions as a railway for north or south, or east or west, but if we have this friction there, we did not commence differences until we got our own Parliament, and we had our friction afterwards. In that country, where Smith O'Brien and John Mitchel spent many days and years, owing to their love for Ireland, the people joined together to obtain a free Constitution. Now, I must tell you flat and plain that we in that country are astonished, and feel hopeless of your cause, when we see the way in which Irishmen at home are going on. The children of the race abroad see that the principal men are Irishmen, that the Governors of the Colonies are Irishmen, that the judges are mostly Irishmen, that the two first Speakers in the House of Commons in Victoria were Irishmen, and they are astonished that the people at home do not join together to gain the freedom of their country. Having said this, I may be allowed to make one or two practical suggestions as to how we out there think it ought to be done. In the first place, of course, it is the majority which ought to rule. I need not insist further upon that. But, as there are those who

have followers in the Irish Parliamentary Party, and as it is of the greatest importance to gain them over to act like one man, I would suggest that in treating with them, in speaking of them, or in writing of them, you should do so with a kindly spirit—treat them as though they were one day to be your leaders and friends. We in Tasmania—and I think in this I can speak of Australia-do not care whether it is Dillon, or Redmond, or anybody else, so long as he is appointed by the majority. If, however, you cannot persuade these men to come back, then there must be an appeal to the constituencies. The people of this country are the best judges of the last resort. So go amongst the voters who vote for those men who will not have majority rule, and endeavour to persuade them not to vote for those men in future. I say that the man who will not abide by the decision of majority rule is as great an enemy of Ireland as if he were an English Unionist. All the shouting in the Leinster Hall will not do if you are not prepared to agitate, agitate, agitate. Go, then, amongst those constituencies who have returned members who will not have majority rule, and tell them of the words of wisdom you heard here to-day from my lord the chairman and other speakers, and, if you do but work hard, I feel confident that at the next General Election a different result will be attained. Looking through your resolutions, every one of which, of course, must have your full support, I have only seen one single word there with which I couldn't agree, and it is where one of the resolutions makes reference to "the Conquest of Ireland." My lord, Ireland has never been conquered. If the resolution said "The origin of English rule," I could understand it. And how did that rule begin? It was through dissension. It was not a conquest which brought in the Normans. It was one of your own princes who sold his country because he did not agree with the majority. I need not tell you the history of your country. You know that when any misfortune was brought upon her it was brought upon her by dissension. I shall only say in conclusion that if Ireland is only united once more she can make England tremble, as she made her tremble before, and it will not be long before she will have won back her long-lost rights.

Very Rev. Dean HARRIS, Toronto—My lord chairman, ladies, and gupon an exceedingly patient audience, and if we bring no further consolation home with us across the sea we will carry the assurance that Ireland had presented to us the most forbearing audience that ever we addressed. As Father Ryan has said, we are not representative of any particular section or any particular party. We are not purchasable commodities. We come here sons of the soil free and independent, and when any section of the Press or any body of men say that we are nobodies, in the name of God where will you find an honest man? If the Hon. John Costigan is a nobody where will you find a great man? We come twenty-three strong from Canada. I make no boast of this to you, but I mention it as an indication of the strong feeling of Irish patriotism that animates us—each and every one of us is paying his own expenses. We come at considerable sacrifice of time and convenience; and we are here to do what we possibly can to patch up the differences that exist amongst the Irish people. For six months in the year, in the



THOMAS HUNT. (See pp. 46, 170.)



REV. DENIS O'CALLAGHAN. (See pp. 49, 173.)



MOSES CORNWALL. (See pp. 51, 176.)



HON. CHARLES HAMILTON BROMBY. (See pp. 54, 177.)

country I come from, the northern lakes are so bound by one solid mass of ice that sometimes they put their railroads across the ice and rush their heaviest trains across it. But there is a certain season in which this ice begins to break up; it forms into fragments, and then a child of two years old could not stand upon it. Where you have a solid, compact body of united men you can bear any load that is put upon you; but when you are broken into fragments you are as the melting ice. I come from the banks of the Welland Canal, where, fifty-four years ago, there were three thousand of our fellow-countrymen engaged in digging that extraordinary canal that extends from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. canal is not inferior in its construction to any canal in the world. banks of that canal were honeycomed, and are to-day, with the graves of our buried countrymen, and we, their sons, have come to appeal to you in the name of God to close up your ranks. We come with kindly feeling towards Mr. Redmond. We come with kindly feeling towards Mr. Healy. We come with kindly feeling towards Mr. Dillon. We are not here, gentlemen, to question their motives; we have not come to dictate any policy to you; we have not come to intrude upon your private We have come as respectable beggars to ask you, in the name of God, to form yourselves into a solid body, and be as you were five or six years ago. Whatever may be the acrimonious feelings and divisions amongst yourselves we know them not. We believe in our hearts that the three divisions that exist amongst you are composed of honest, intelligent, and brave men. We all recognise that this meeting has to do what it possibly can to draw these three together and make them into one, so that as the husband and wife are two in one, the Dillonites, and the Healyites, and the Redmonites may form three in one. More than this I have no right to say to you. The Canadian delegation includes our chairman, the Hon. John Costigan, and our secretary, Mr. Cronin. We have with us Hugh Ryan, perhaps, the largest contractor in the Dominion of Canada, a man who has come here at great sacrifice; and when, therefore, any section of the Dublin Press shall say that we are nobodies we throw the lie back in their faces. Have we not the right to expect from all parties courteous treatment? Are we not entitled to fair play when we come from thousands of miles away? What right, therefore, has any body of men to stigmatise us before the people of Dublin and the people of Ireland as nobodies representing nobody? I, for one, am in a position to say that myself and my colleague from the banks of Niagara were elected by the Irishmen of Niagara to bear to you Irishmen a message of peace and brotherly love, and the petition that you will do what in you lies to stand together man to man until in the end we have accomplished the great end for which we have been working—Home Rule for Ireland. On this platform today you have a distinguished example of the power of burying differences. You have here one of the most distinguished Protestant gentlemen from Canada, the Hon. Mr. Blake, the teader, the head, and the chief for many years of the great Liberal Party of the Dominion of Canada. You have here an equally distinguished Catholic gentleman, the Hon. John Costigan, a member of the Queen's Privy Council in the Dominion of Canada, and of the Executive body that governs that These gentlemen have fought face to face against each other

for thirty years-for thirty years they have never laid the shield or buried the hatchet, but when it was a question of doing anything for Ireland they stood together shoulder to shoulder and hand to hand. If, therefore, this distinguished Prostestant gentleman and this distinguished Irish gentleman have given this example to the parties that are divided, and if they have proved the possibility of union on a common platform, what is the reason that Parnellites, Dillonites, and Healyites cannot come together on this platform also? My lord bishop, I thank you very much indeed for your courteous reception, and the ladies and gentlemen for the hospitable, kindly and generous brotherhood they have extended to us. We want to go back to our own people—we never may put our foot here again; forty-nine years ago I was born in Corkthe city that John Mitchel, in Steinway Hall, described as the home of rebels, of fair women, and of handsome men-so we want to go back, perhaps, never again to see you, and we want to tell our people, from platform and from pulpit, and on the public streets, that the delegates from Canada met with a kindly, hospitable reception from the people of Ireland, and that we are grateful for it. One word more. A gentleman said to me, in my own city, "If they don't now settle we may despair of Ireland." "Despair," said I, "Never." "Despair of the people that have fought for centuries. So help me God, so long as there are three Irishmen living I will never despair of them.

Rev. PATRICK LYNCH, Manchester-My lord and gentlemen of the Convention of the Irish Race, the words I shall address to you will be brief indeed. Other gentlemen are anxious to speak, and I shall take up but very few minutes of your time. Now, it seems to me that the main reason for the assembling of this Convention is to promote union amongst the people of Ireland themselves. If the people of Ireland were united they would stamp out dissension amongst the Parliamentary leaders in twenty-four hours. Gentlemen, this is the message which those who sent me here charge me to deliver. I speak as a Lancashire delegate, and the Lancashire delegates are here to-day to speak for a half a million of the Irish race in England. In the town of Manchester we have a much larger population of Irish either by birth or by blood than there are in the cities of Cork and Limerick combined; and if in this magnificent gathering the cities of Cork and Limerick possess weight, as unquestionably they do possess weight, then I say Manchester, with a larger Irish population, ought to possess an influence as great. My lord and gentlemen, for the last twenty years we in Lancashire made ourselves political pariahs before the people of Ireland. In the elections for Poor Law Guardians, of members of the City Council, in the election for members of the County Councils, in every public gathering where the Irish vote could tell, the great principle that moved us to record our votes is the question; "Is the man an Irishman? Is the man friendly to Home Rule and the cause of Home Rule?" If he was, he got power and place by the votes of the Irishmen of Manchester. Last November I saw the blank walls of one of the wards of the city of Manchester placarded, calling upon the Irish voters to vote for a certain candidate for the City Council because he was a friend of Ireland and a Home Ruler. Now, you all know that the Manchester City Council cannot grant Home Rule to Ireland; but I think you will agree with me when

I say that this mode of action—the tactics of the Irish in England—are extremely wise. It is by keeping Home Rule so prominently forward, and by making it the polestar of every other public question, that we have driven home to the minds of the people of England the justice and honesty of Home Rule. I ask you to agree that the voice of Man-chester ought to have weight in an assembly of this kind. What I say of Manchester is equally true of all the great towns of Yorkshire, of England, and Scotland. In the ordinary state of political things in England, both parties are nearly equal, and it is the Irish vote that comes in the determiner of the political scale in England. You in Ireland may give your vote for Home Rule, but in Ireland you are simply the wooden shaft of the spear. It is the vote of the Irish people in England that makes the steel end of the spear. [A Voice-"What about Scotland?"] I include Scotland with all my heart. Now, gentlemen, we are happy and proud to see representatives here from every country in the world almost where the Irish race are found. We have gentlemen here from America, from Canada, and from Australia, and we have a large number from the dear old land at home. Now, gentlemen, I think that if ever there was a truth it is this. America may send gold in abundance to help the cause, Canada may do the same and give wealth in like manner. You here at home may be as united as you will. England, if England pleases, can keep you down as she has kept you down for the last seven centuries. I say distinctly, America may give gold, and you at home may give help for unity, but if Home Rule is ever to be won it will be won more by the force of the Irish in England than by any other factor which assists in its winning. Having said this, I would not discharge my duty if I did not deliver in full the message which those who sent me here to speak for them commissioned me to deliver. It is this. They are becoming restive at the continuance of the dissensions in Ireland. If dissension merely existed amongst a half-dozen or dozen of the Parliamentary leaders they would give it but little thought, but when dissension exists amongst the people it is this that dismays them in the cause of Ireland. Their message, therefore, to you, representatives of the Irish race at home, is this—"Close your ranks, stand together like men, shoulder to shoulder, and we, the Irish in England, will vote our last man, and spend our last shilling, and fight your battle to the last ditch on your behalf."

Mr. Patrick Dunlevy, Philadelphia—I have come here from the "City of Brotherly Love," bearing no malice to anyone, but peace and goodwill. I need not tell you that it is the Quaker City of the United States, and in that relation I have great pleasure in supporting the resolutions of the Quaker gentleman of Dublin. I would remark, by the way, that I have been delegated to come here from an organisation through which all the money that has been raised in our city for the last sixteen years for the Irish cause has come, and, to all whom it may concern, "I can read my title clear." I have been much impressed with this land of my birth since I first set my foot upon it a few days ago. It appears that, after forty-five years' absence, I have not forgotten the faculty of perpertating Irish bulls. I have been much impressed, and particularly so here to-day, as it reminds me of the series of gatherings and public demonstrations and meetings that we have held in our city

since the days of the Land League movement up to a few months ago, in favour of the Irish cause. The character and importance of this meeting can be testified to by the eminent and prominent gentlemen who are here on the stage to-day. Without boasting, I can say that our city has marched in the forefront of Ireland's freedom from the beginning until now. We have never failed in responding to your appeals; and your very last appeal from the distinguished gentleman who has addressed you, Mr. M'Carthy, we generously answered it. But the unfortunate dissensions that sprung up among you here were carried across the water to our fair land, and permeated some of our best workers in the cause. But time has worked wonderful changes; and I say to you to-day that in leaving the shores of America for this Convention, I was clasped heartily by the hand and bid God-speed and success by the men who differ with me. I can, without presumption, say to you that I represent Parnellites, Healyites, and Nationalists to-day. I can say to you that their wish and their prayer is for unity, and I trust in God that here in this collective representative Convention there is wit and wisdom, statesmanship, disinterested love of our land and of her cause, sufficient to rise superior to all difficulties, and find a way out of this miserable condition. Do this, and I can go home, and with renewed energy and renewed effort, turn to the work of restoring confidence, and with that confidence will come again our support; and with a united front, and pressing home the essential question of Home Rule, it is but a few years,

I firmly believe, until you will enjoy it.

Rev. Dr. Foley, Nova Scotia.—My lord and gentlemen, I think that this Convention has commenced with very happy auguries. We have received a letter from the workingman's Pope-the democratic Pope Leo XIII.—and the most rev. chairman of this meeting is an Irish Bishop who talks tersely, directly, like a man, and with a courage that has placed the men of his race always in the forefront of the battle. I see around me gentlemen who are famed the world over, and I am convinced that their political sagacity will crown with success the cause of Home Rule, imperilled though it may be. That this Convention, gentlemen, meets at the instance of a Canadian Archbishop is for us Canadians an object of legitimate praise, but that it meets for the pur-pose of proclaiming to all Irishmen of goodwill the joyous tidings of unity and peace, is a matter of higher import and of more heartfelt congratulation. I am not too sanguine when I say, though I be an Irishman, that round the world ring the confident congratulations of the Irish race. They are confident that to-day is the starting-point with a revivified Irish nationality. We have heard in our country reports of disaffection and disunion, but remember that they emanated from the Press that has ever striven to extort a verdict against Irishmen, and we did not believe them in their entirety. Yet we knew that the embers of discontent were smouldering; that sooner or later they might develop into a consuming blaze, and leave only ruins where once stood the fair fabric of the Irish National Party. This we knew, but our only hope is that this Convention—the wise counsels of this Convention—may prevail in effecting a complete reunion. We are not here to-day, ladies and gentlemen, either to speak of or to criticise the past. We are here simply to look to the future, and it seems to me that no man, no matter



ENNISKILLEN, CO. FERMANAGH.

in what light he may regard this Convention, can reasonably deny our right and privilege to say a word at the present juncture. I have been sent here by the Irishmen of Halifax, and instructed by them in the most solemn manner not to say one word of a denunciatory character against any gentleman who has upheld the fame and loyalty of the old land, against any members of the Irish Party who have, to quote the words of Mr. Gladstone, made the cell a national shrine and the prison garb a dress of the highest honour. And we, the delegates from Nova Scotia, ask you, "Will you not send us back with a message that may re-awaken the old-time enthusiasm, and convince us that the principles for which Irishmen are battling are greater than any man or section?" An Irishman of Halifax said to me the morning before I started: "When you go to Ireland, tell them, for God's sake, not to spend their days speechifying, but get down to some practical business. Tell them to lay down some commonsense platform on which all Nationalists can stand." And we are sent here not to identify ourselves with any party. We come from a democratic country, where the rule of the majority prevails, and we wish that the will of the majority of the elected representatives of the Irish people should prevail in the administration of Home Rule affairs. We stand by the principle of majority rule, and any man who obtains a majority of one vote, be he any member of the Irish Party, no matter how he may be called, will have our support in the National movement.

The Irishmen of Halisax behind me beseech you to bury the carrion of dissension that stinks in the nostrils of decent men. guarantee before we leave this Convention that we may on public platforms and in the Press plead your cause without indignity and without subjecting ourselves to the taunts of men who would say that Home Rule is a mere fanciful speculation. What joy was ours when the hereditary English statesman made a speech in which he said:-"The flowing tide is with us." What joy was ours when unity brought us to the verge of triumph. But the old drama was once again enacted, and Irishmen were divided. Halifax and Nova Scotia are one with you and your struggle for right, for the promotion of your industries, and for the shaping of your own destiny. They beg me to tell you that if they are prosperous, if they share in the blessings of a Christian civilisation, if they stand together irrespective of politics in the determination to shape their own destinies—it is as the result of union. Our Archbishop—to show what a democratic city it is-our present Archbishop, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Brien, enjoys the distinction of being President of the Royal Society of Canada, a society that contains some of the most prominent scientific and literary men in the country. Our Lieutenant-Governor rejoices in the good name of Daly; the Mayor who preceded the present man had the Irish name of Keeffe; and I mention these matters to show the true democratic character of the country where the majority must prevail. I am convinced that you will send us back to Halifax with a message to gladden the hearts of Irishmen who are confident that this Convention will shield our country from the destroying rays of internecine dissension. Close up your ranks. Do not, I beg of you, cause us to hang our heads for shame. Do this, and I tell you on their behalf that you will have the material and moral support of all Irishmen of good

will. You will have the admiration of your enemies, and of all who can appreciate the work of a united and determined race. I hope this Convention may be able to place on the National Registry this entry:—"In the month of September, 1896, in Dublin, the Irish Party was regenerated in the saving waters of unity by the Canadian Archbishop, with the greater Ireland as its sponsor, and was given for its legitimate parents the majority of the representatives of the Irish people."

The CHAIRMAN-There is a telegram from Bolton, England, which

I will ask Mr. Davitt to read.

Mr. DAVITT, M.P.—The following telegram has just been received :-

The members of the National League of Great Britain send greeting to Ireland's sons assembled in council, and pray that God may bless their deliberations, and bring peace and unity to Ireland. May the first thought of all be Ireland over all. God Save Ireland.

Mr. KENNEDY, Wellington, New Zealand-My lord and gentlemen, you are aware that I come from probably the most remote country represented here to-day, a country that is as large as Great Britain and half of Ireland combined. Our population is small, only three-quarters of a million, and the Irish population in the colony is only one seventh of the whole. We therefore know what it is to be in a minority. Now, the question upon which we are sent here is the question of unity. If there is any other mode of ruling a country than the rule of majority we would like to know it. New Zealand was the land of experimental legislation. We tried many lines of action, but we never discovered any other means of ruling except the rule of the majority. A celebrated politician had said, "The privilege of the minority is to become a majority." We have a representative Parliament on the widest possible scale, and there is no particular love between the two parties-the "ins" and the "outs"-and the minority tries to become the majority. We appeal to the Irish people to sink their differences, and if they find in the course of time that any of their members go wrong, then let them go down to the people and oust them. The majority must bind the minority. We Irishmen in New Zealand are ardent Home Rulers, and there are other men who are not Irishmen who sympathise with the Irish cause; but they now point to the divisions amongst Irishmen, and Irishmen are not only discouraged, but they are made a laughingstock by those dissensions. I was, therefore, sent to Ireland to point out the absolute necessity of unity and majority rule.

The CHAIRMAN-There is a telegram from Quebec, which Mr.

Davitt will read.

Mr. DAVITT, M.P., read the following telegram :-

Hon. John Costigan, care Chairman, Irish National Convention.—Represent us. Meeting Irishmen to-night unanimously resolved send Convention brotherly greetings, heartiest sympathy. Pray God bless your labours with much success in interest of union of Irishmen at home and abroad in the grand cause of Home Rule and fair play to Ireland.—Felix Carbray, Chairman.

Rev. GEORGE F. MARSHALL, Manchester, New Hampshire—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I do not appear here for the purpose of making a speech. Enough has been already said to convince every honest man in this gathering that our purpose here, and our purpose in

coming across the ocean, was to try and induce divided Nationalists in Ireland to throw aside their dissension and disunion and to work all together once more for our dear old country. We have come here to urge upon you to cast aside your differences and endeavour to form once again a grand united party, such as we had a few years ago-a party that would suffer dictation from nobody, and that would compel that despot, England, to give Ireland relief from the oppression under which she is suffering. I do not come here to speak on behalf of the one party or the second party or the third party. I appreciate the men who belong to those parties. I give them credit each of thinking that they are on the right road. When I was leaving the United States and now, I may say, I had and have an open mind as to which of the three parties was the best to obtain Home Rule for Ireland. It is for you to decide, and to decide by giving a majority. And when you have given that majority you should stand by that majority, giving towards the minority all deference, but, at the same time, seeing that that majority shall rule, and also insisting that the gentlemen who shall be elected by that majority shall have perfect control of the party, as the potter has control of the clay in which he works. I say that party should be in his hands in that way, and that he should insist they should all work together to advance the interests of Ireland, and endeavour to take away the shame attached to our dear old land-that shame which discord, dissension, and disunion have brought upon her. Say to your leader when you have elected him: "You were elected for a certain end; for that you must fight, sinking all minor differences for the common good." Let us see such a state of things, and then we can demand our rights from one of the greatest powers on earth. Years gone by it was a hard thing to build up an Irish party, but as years rolled by the party, once started, grew and grew until it became one grand united party, and even until it was courted by English parties. We want a party now on the same lines. We want a party now that will work firmly and steadily on the same lines. It is of no importance to us, delegates who have come across the ocean, whether it is the tried and true John Dillon who will lead the party; it is of no importance to us whether it is William O'Brien or Mr. O'Connor who will lead the party; it is of no importance to us whether it is Mr. Healy who will lead the party. No; but it is of the utmost importance to us that one man shall rule, that his rule shall be strong, and that it shall be obeyed; in fact that he shall rule, as we say in Irish, with tam tarop. We were told before we left the United States that our efforts would be of no use, and that it would be useless for us to interfere. Yes; but I did not believe those statements, and I do not believe them now, when I see in the chair of this historic gathering a descendant of the O'Donnells. I have confidence in a Convention composed of such men. Here we have a man who comes to the front as the friend of Ireland presiding at this meeting, and brings new confidence and new strength to our country; and with this new confidence and new strength, I hope we shall be able to go back to our friends across the ocean and tell them that there is a fair prospect of union, and that after all what was going on was only a little row and a little skirmish, and that the shame which dissension and disunion brought upon Ireland will shortly be wiped out.

Very Rev. M. A. CLANCY-I, too, have been sent with a message of peace and goodwill and reconciliation from the iron-bound coasts of Newfoundland to the fair Green Isle of Old Erin. Though I cannot boast of representing any very large number of Irishmen, or any very large country, as far as population is concerned, nevertheless, though we are only a small section of people, we are animated with the same impulsive love of Ireland, the same great desire for Ireland's freedom that the most boid-hearted in Ireland can possibly feel. You do not know, and you cannot feel the burning shame that comes into our faces when we are told over and over again: "What good are you Irishmen doing at all? What is the reason that for even one sacred moment, when in that moment you might possibly touch the goal of liberty, you cannot be united amongst yourselves?" My colleague and I from New(oundland come here to implore you to grasp our hands in brotherly love, that we may be united as one man in the demand for Home Rule. But as the most necessary thing you must be united amongst yourselves, and I fancy that from this great Convention must go forth a mandate, strong and powerful, and irresistible, that will command unity amongst the Irish Parliamentary Party. A great deal is said about majority rule. All of us who live in self-governing countries, such as Newfoundland, must admit majority rule, and although we are a very small number of people we can manage our own affairs. No doubt we have occasionally a little friction, but it is only now after Home Rule has been obtained. Before this Convention assembled I believe an effort had been made to unite the various sections into which unfortunately our party is divided. These approaches were made by men who had been previously in a kind of way political enemies. They were not very cordially received, however, but there should go out from this Convention a mandate insisting that those now separated should come together and be of one fold. There is very little use, after all, in harping all the time on this unfortunate want of unity. No doubt, within a very short time since, we who followed the debates in the English House of Commons often lamented and often groaned for one brief hour of blind old Dandalo. We wanted the master hand and powerful mind of Charles Stewart Parnell. Not many more words do I intend to address to you for the present; but I am reminded here to-day of a story I read a great many years ago when the Nation was the people's voice. It is the story of the revolution in Spain in the year '42, and the hero of this story said—" Neither Christina, nor yet Don Carlos, and let our rallying cry be 'Liberty for Spain.'" And I will say likewise-" Neither Healy, nor Redmond, nor even John Dillon, but let our rallying cry be 'Liberty

Rev. EDWARD S. PHILLIPS, Pennsylvania—Most rev. chairman, fellow-delegates, ladies and gentlemen, I did not intend when leaving my home in America to make an address at this Convention, for I believed, as most Americans believe, and what most Irishmen know, that there is if anything too much orating in Ireland. I came here not to make a speech but to do something. I was not born in Ireland. I would like to have been born in Cork or Tipperary after the reputation these two worthy children have given of these two places. I may say, as we are all giving something of our pedigree, that my parents were married at the foot of



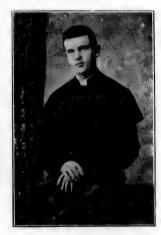
VERY REV. DEAN HARRIS. (See pp. 57, '178, 262, 313.)



REV. PATRICK LYNOH. (See pp. 59, 181.)



PATRICK DUNLEVY. (See pp. 62, 182.)



VERY REV. WILLIAM FOLEY, D.D. (See pp. 65, 183.)

Nephin Beg, and if they remained there a short time I would not have been born in America, and as our young friend, Dr. Foley, said, it is no fault of mine if I am not an Irishman. I came here to represent the most intensely patriotic organisation in America—the Ancient Order of Hibernians, representing directly about ten thousand anthracite coalminers in Pennsylvania, and the particular district from which I have come as a delegate is Lucerne. Therefore, I have a right to speak on behalf of Irish unity. I have been told by my fellow members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians to counsel unity if necessary, and it is not necessary to speak of unity, but for God's sake to do something for unity and for Ireland. Gentlemen, we have heard a great deal alout unity. That word "unity" is magnificent all the world over-in America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Great Britain, and Ireland, when it is on paper, but I have not yet heard one suggestion as to the means of promoting unity in Ireland. I have heard, with which I must disagree, one delegate say tyranny is necessary among the bosses—among the leaders. Gentlemen, I think that there is a great deal of trouble in the ambitions of leadership, and I hope that out of this Convention there will arise one whom Ireland can trust (A Voice—Sexton). I can't discountenance the magnificent work of the present chairman. I admire him for the work that he has done, and as all the speakers have said, and the magnificent orator from the North of Ireland, O'Donnell, has said, Ireland is greater than any man, Ireland is greater than leaders, and if the leaders be at fault then the people should know how to right the wrong. The people should be the law, and should rule. I live in a country in which there is government of the people, for the people, and by the people, and every time I'll swear by the people, because with the people all united it makes no difference about leaders-the country cannot go wrong. If, gentlemen, out of this Convention will come something good for the people of Ireland, for the proper representation of the people of Ireland, I care not who is leader, I'll go back to the patriotic Order of Hibernians (Board of Erin) and tell them I did not come in vain to the land of my fathers.

The CHAIRMAN—The proceedings of to-day will close with another speech. We have had a great advantage of hearing at considerable length the splendid messages that have come to us from our friends abroad, and the delegates of the Convention have had an opportunity of digesting a good deal of the proposals that are put forward upon the agenda paper; hence, it is my purpose on to-morrow, please God, while allowing to the utmost of my power all the latitude of discussion, to make a good way through the agenda paper. I hope to-night you will be able to consider the resolutions, and, therefore, while taking occasion to-morrow to explain thoroughly your views with regard to them. I think it would be possible for you to come to a conclusion, and, if necessary, to a division on them, without very long debate. I may mention that in connection with resolution (1), of the group "A," on looking over the paper I find resolutions "L" and "M" germane to it, and they shall be taken early to-morrow in conjunction with it, and likewise the resolution of which notice has been handed in by Father Flynn, Waterford, which very probably he will move as an amendment to the resolution that

appears first on Mr. Webb's list.

Mr. JOHN FERGUSON, Glasgow-My lord and fellow countrymen, after the magnificent addresses which you have been listening to, and particularly after the address delivered by the distinguished ecclesiastic who occupies the chair, and under whose presidency I am proud to-day to speak, I feel that it is, indeed, too much at this late hour to ask you to listen for more than a very few minutes to the words I would like to say to you. I come from a land once hostile but now united in friendship for Ireland. I come from a country where we had to fight for our political rights and political existence as Irishmen-a fiercer fight than any you have had perhaps in this or any country in the world. We have had Irishmen shot on the platform while maintaining our green flag above. We have had bullets through our windows to tell us of the hostile feeling of the Scottish people. That day has passed away, and we roused the spirit of Celtic kinship amongst the Scottish people, and to-day Scotland stands solid for Home Rule. My lord, my eye fell at once upon the words upon the scroll at the back of the hall, and I went back in thought twenty-three years to the great Convention. I looked at the crowded gallery here and I thought of the gallery in the historic Rotunda, when, under the great Isaac Butt, we met there, 1,200 delegates, the best Parliament Ireland had seen for seventy-three years. We were then defying the law, for let our American and Australian friends take this back with them, that in those days such a meeting as this subjected every delegate to imprisonment and fine; it was contrary to law to hold a delegate assembly in Ireland. But our grand old Irishman showed us how to break the law, and by-and-by they had to repeal it because we were too many for them. But in those days "God Save Ireland" would not have been placed upon the gallery of our Convention. We have advanced since then. The names of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien-another name should be there, you know it-it is in Glasnevin. There should be many other names, but there should be another martyr added to the three; he came from Glasgow. The Convention reminds me of something that then interfered with unity in our ranks-one the broken remnant of the gallant Fenian movement, which had not yet quite made up its mind that the unconstitutional battle should be no longer fought. Let no man fear to name the Fenian Brotherhood. Has not William Ewart Gladstone, that distinguished Englishman, said -the words are not Ferguson's words, but Mr. Gladstone's words-"The depth and intensity of the Fenian movement has taught me the necessity of legislating to avert a danger from the Empire?" And said that greatest of all English statesmen, that highest-minded and purest man of all English statesmen, although he has often gone wrong, said he, "It has been said that they are the scum of the Irish race; but my friend Mr. Maguire's book shows to me that the Fenians are the very cream of the Irish race." That, my lord, was provoked by those who put up "God Save Ireland" at the meeting.

I apologise for the digression, and I go on with my subject. There was another element of dissension at the meeting; that element inherited the glorious traditions of O'Connell, the glorious traditions of the Young Ireland Party, and it was not prepared to turn aside from the simple Repeal of which we heard a good deal, and which gave us a good deal of trouble, even for Isaac Butt's grand scheme. But ultimately we

conquered, ultimately we had a unity in Ireland for years; and oh, fellow-countrymen! what was the result of that unity? Look at its The Established Church—the Church in which I was born and to which I belong—the Established Church was disestablished and put into an honest and honourable position, in which it is now. And the landlords, the foreign garrison in Ireland, that plundered it of twelve millions per annum, that have wrought such havor in the land of the O'Donnells—ah, we clipped their wings! Two or three millions out of their income are to-day in the pockets of the Irish people. Not much, I admit, but still it is something. But better than all, we have established the doctrine that they had no right to any of it whatever. We sent a Commission up to the Highlands of Scotland which wiped out all the arrears-you have not quite got that far yet-wiped out all the arrears and took forty-five per cent, off the rent. But we established by our united action Land Courts in Ireland which asserted the principle that no man should pay rent for any improvements of his own or those of his predecessors in title. I admit that, because of your disunion and because of your want of loyalty to your principles and your party, that has not been carried out as well as it would, but now is the time for a forward march. We have taught these men that they must no longer gather where they have not scattered, or reap where they have not sown, and now is the time for a united forward march. Oh, brothers dear, we must not again by our dissensions lose the vantage ground we have won. I am told all round no good will come of your Convention; it will be just a large crowd of enthusiastic people; they will cheer unity, but another crowd could be got up on the other side to-morrow. Not a bit of it. God Almighty has made mankind thus-that although some men upon any given subject may be so prejudiced, may be so full of hate, or of love, that they are unable to see the broad principle of truth, yet the great majority of men upon any one question can be taught that Magna est veritas et prevalebit—we will make the truth prevail. I have been excited by the magnificent speeches, and have got into an enthusiastic spirit by the gathering of the nation and the sea-divided Gael on the platform. I want now to deal shortly with one question raised lately in England, and by the Times newspaper in particular. It says there are now only four and a half millions of people in Ireland, and that we are so weak that we cannot get what we want. The Celt is gone with a vengeance, and the Times boasted that the Celt would soon be as scarce as a Red Indian on the shores of the Manhattan. But in relation to the foreigner the Celt is just as numerous in Ireland as ever he was, and he is armed with a power he never had before, and Ireland can now be properly represented in the House of Commons. But, then, what if Irishmen have gone with a vengeance? They are armed with a hundred times more power in foreign lands, and wherever the English flag flies there, too, are found members of the Irish race. The Alabama claim would never have been pressed home but for the Irish population in America, and the Venezuelan question, which is giving England so much trouble-I venture to think that some of our fellow-countrymen have something to say to that. The Celt has gone away with a vengeance, but he is coming back in many ways. He is not coming back with the green flag flying over shotted guns, but he is sending the produce of his

adopted country into England and is breaking down her monopoly. Now, too, we can return eighty-six members of Parliament to the House of Commons. We are not loyal under the present circumstances, and we cannot be loyal under the present circumstances, but we offer England a chance of making us loyal. If we get a National assembly in Dublin to manage our National affairs, we are satisfied to have an Imperial House for the Empire, in which Ireland should be properly represented. Supposing England exposes itself to the world by muzzling our members, by putting them out—and I admit they have the physical power to do that—then where is the constitutional assembly? Under these circumstances, is not the Government in Ireland manifestly a coercion Government? England in these days cannot afford to rule Ireland with the sword; England must appreciate Ireland, and here we offer her the hand of friendship, but we must have national self-government.

"Oh! brothers, gather close to keep
The land we'll win once more;
Division were the direst curse
That darkens now our door.
The God of Nations musters us,
And leads us forth once more;
Now who can break what He has bound.
While each to each is true?

"And when the nations onward march In better days to be, Our Irish flag shall float Amongst the banners of the free. Its colour then will speak of hope Like sunshine's glistening sheer, And all the world be better For our wearing of the green."

I have much pleasure in supporting the resolutions.

Mr. Davitt, M.P.—The Convention will now adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow. The doors will be open for delegates at 10.30. The following telegram has just been received by Mr. John Dillon:—

A meeting of advanced Ulstermen, held in Wolverhampton yesterday, wish you, for Ireland's good, to be firm and just in pressing for release of political prisoners. Please read to meeting.—JAMES HARVEY.

The Convention then adjourned at 4 o'clock.

[Of the many letters handed to the Press at the conclusion of first day's proceedings by the Secretaries, the following were printed. They are arranged in order of dates.]

Archbishop's House, Logan Square, Philadelphia, July 10, 1896.

TO Messrs. Thomas Addis Emmet, M.D.; John D. Grimmins, Joseph F. Daly, and Others.

Gentlemen,—I am greatly honoured by rour invitation to act as a delegate-at-large from the United States to the Irish Race Convention, to be held in Dublin on September 1st, 1896. Nothing but a sense of duty would prevent my acceptance of this honour. I have made appointments for Confirmation and other functions for



MARTIN KENNKDY. (See up. 66, 186.)



REV. GEORGE F. MARSHALL. (Secopp. 62, 186.)



REV M. A. CLANCY. (See pp. 71, 188.)



REV. EDWARD 8. PHILLIPS. (See pp. 72, 188, 297.)

September, which render it impossible for me to be absent for the time required to attend the Convention. I wish it from my heart entire success, and shall not forget to pray for this object in the Holy Sacrifice.

Yours very faithfully,

+ P. J. RYAN, Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Mackay, Queensland, July 13th, 1896.
TO THE PRESIDENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE IRISH NATIONAL
CONVENTION, DULLIN.

Gentlemen,—We, the undersigned, on behalf of the members of the H.A.C.B. Society, No. 233. St. Patrick's Branch, Mackay, Queensland, congratulate the promoters of this Convention, and we hope that by its means the antagonism to Ireland's best interests will be entirely obliterated, leaving a united party, for without unity representation becomes a farce, and you cannot expect the support from Australians which otherwise we would gladly contribute to the cause of Home Rule for Ireland. Believe us that in Australian there are thousands of Irishmen, and others who have watched with painful anxiety the constant bickerings of Ireland's supposed representatives. What concessions can you expect if by your own conduct you merit the opprobrium and laughter of your enemies? We know that the representatives of Ireland are as capable and intellectual as any other representation of like importance, but while this division in the ranks exists, so long shall Ireland-suffer. It is with pleasure we notice the efforts of Mr. Davit and others advocating the liberation of the Irish political prisoners, and hope their efforts will be rewarded. With our best wishes for the success of your Convention, we remain, yours, etc.

CHAS. FRAZER, President.
JOHN P. DOWD, Vice-President.
MICHAEL BARRON, Treasurer.
CHARLES MEZGER, Secretary.
D. MARKEY.

Adelaide, S.A., July 14th, 1896.

JOHN DILLON, Esq., M.P., Chairman. Irish National Federation, 24 Rutland Square, Dublin, Ireland.

Lear Sir,—The members of the South Australian Branch of the Irish National Federation deeply regret that they are unable to appoint a delegate whose business engagements permit of his leaving for Dublin in time to take part in the Pan-Celtic Convention. At the same time they are unwilling to allow the occasion of a gathering, so important from its constitution and objects, to pass without expressing a hope that the cause of Ireland may be furthered by the deliberations of the Convention. Nothing is more desired by the sympathisers in South Australia with the cause of Irish autonomy than the reunion of its supporters at home. They feel that the greatest strength of their opponents lies in the division of the forces that fight for Home Rule, and that a consummation so devoulty to be wished for as reunion ought to be possible in the case of those of one blood and aim. From the visit of Mr. J. E. Redmond and his brother twelve years ago to South Australia, to the split in the Irish Party, the movement for Home Rule gained ground here. The Press of South Australia, reflecting local opinion, met the demands of the Nationalists with sympathy or fair criticism. But the division in your ranks at home checked the growth in our colony of sympathy with Home Rule. It has, to a great extent, diminished the power of your countrymen to help you by discounting, through the so-called object lesson afforded by internal dissensions, the effect of their advocacy of your cause.

1 he Irish, and the descendants of Irish in South Australia, still fervently long for he success of your efforts to establish an Irish Parljament to deal with purely trish expenses of the success of your efforts to establish an Irish Parljament to deal with purely trish

'the Irish, and the descendants of Irish in South Australia, still fervently long for the success of your efforts to establish an Irish Parliament to deal with purely trish affairs. They believe that in local autonomy lies the solution of the Irish question, and the strength of the empire. With that obtained, the abilities and energies now spent in the fight for a change in the political relations of Great Britain and Ireland would be directed to the good government and development of the country, with promise of excellent results. But they feel that they can do little to increase the

measure of sympathy extended to you here while the division exists in your ranks at home. They, therefore, wish you God-speed in your efforts, through the Pan-Celtic Convention, to bring about reunion. May your deliberations meet with success worthy of the great issue at stake, and of the self-acrificing real and patriotic aspirations of those who take part in them.

Faithfully yours,

P. M M. GLYNN,

President Irish National Federation. South Australia.

Irish National Federation, Auckland, N.Z., 18th July, 1806.

JOHN DILLON, Esq., M.P.

Dear Sir,-I have the honour by direction of this branch of the Irish National Federation to forward you the following resolution unanimously and with acclamation

Federation to forward you the following resolution unanimously and with acciamation passed at last night's meeting:

"That we, the Auckland Bran h of the Irish National Federation in meeting assembled, in common with all loyal supporters of, and sympathisers with, the cause of Ireland at home and abroad, records its conviction of the paramount necessity for unity amongst the supporters of Home Rule, and desires in the most earnest manner to convey to the National Convention to be held in Dublin the unanimously expressed wish and hope of this branch that, ignoring all differences and prejudices, and disregarding all considerations, the result of the deliberations of the Convention may be a resolve to cordially join together in and maintain a lasting course of united action, upon which depends the success of the Irish Home Rule movement."

I have only to add my own prayer that our earnest wishes and desires may, as the outcome of the Convention, under Divine Providence, be consummated.

I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

Jos. A. Tole, President. M. J. Sheahan, Hon. Sec.

Catholic Summer School of America, Plattsburgh, N.Y., July 20th, 1896.

Plattsburgh, N.Y., July 20th, 1896.

My Dear Mr. Ryan,—Many duties devolving upon me at the opening of the Summer School session have hindered me from answering your letter of invitation to act as delegate to the great Convention at Dublin, September 1st. I am .orry to say that it will be impossible for me to accept it, much as I may wish to do my best towards the realisation of our hopes for general unity of action in the great cause in which a people's interests are centered. I have been the prime promoter in bringing to Worcester, Massachusetts, for the 7th of September, a great demonstration of the temperance forces of Massachusetts, and it would be unbecoming of me to be absent. It would be like "Hamlet" without the Dane. As the success of the movement depends upon my personal endeavours, I have turned the matter over in many ways, and have come to the conclusion that it is absolutely necessary for me to remain at home for this event. home for this event.

I hope that the distinguished delegates who will attend the Convention from all parts of the world will be successful in teaching Irish representatives the necessity of unity. In particular I hope they will impress upon them the lesson which we have

unity. In particular I nope they will impress upon them the lesson which we have learned so well in America—that majorities rule, and that all men should turn their interests to the common cause of mother country.

I appreciate very gratefully the confidence of the Federation in selecting me as one of its delegates at large, and I would certainly strain many points to act in that capacity to the best of my ability. You can realize, then, that it is a sacrifice for me to remain at home, but I feel that my remaining is demanded by duty to the interests I have gathered about me at that particular time.

Please accept my grateful thanks and honour, and believe me, in the hopes of unity, your friend,

[Rev.] THOMAS J. CONATY.

Buffalo, N.Y., July 28th, 1896.

JOSEPH P. RYAN, Eso.

My Dear Sir, - I beg to return my heartfelt thanks, through you, to the gentle-My Dear Sir,—I beg to return my heartfelt thanks, through you, to the gentlemen whose names are signed to the invitation so kindly sent me. Please to convey to them the high appreciation in which I hold the honour they have conferred upon me, and assure them that nothing less than the inability to leave home at the stated time could prevent me from enjoying the proud privilege of representing the Irish National Federation of America at the Dublin Convention. I have lately added pastoral labours to my editorial duties, and the dual responsibilities will claim my close personal attention for some time to come. Again thanking the gentlemen named and yourself most heartily.

I am, very sincerely yours,

[Rev.] PATRICK CRONIN.

113 King William Street, Adelaide, 28th July, 1896.

JOHN DILLON, Esq., M.P., Dublin.

Join Dilloy, Eq., M.P., Dublin.

My Dear Sir,—I enclose cutting which will appear in the Southern Cross on Friday next, It was wired to me from Sydney, with request to post it on to you, so as to catch an earlier mail than if sent from Sydney. Our branch of the I.N. Federation in Arlelaide sent on a letter of congratulation and encouragement hast mail, and I have also written to Mr. Davitt. I sincerely trust the Convention may be the means of uniting our people in an invulnerable phalanx to meet the common enemy, and I congratulate you on the high and responsible position to which you have been elevated. We regret very much that South Australia will not be directly represented at the Convention. Were my Ministerial Parliamentary duties not so imperative nothing would please me better than to attend.

Very truly yours,

J. V. O'LOGHLIN, V.P., I.N.F.

Extract from Southern Cross, Adelaide, re meeting in Sydney, 27th July, 1896 :-"THE PAN-CELTIC CONVENTION.—We have received the following telegram from Sydney:—An enthusiastic meeting rs Pan-Celtic Convention was held Monday night at the Guild Hall, Sydney. Mr. F. B. Freehill occupied the chair. The speakers were the Hon. R. E. O'Connor, Hon. John Toohey, Messrs. J. P. Garwa, William Ellard, Jos. Carlos. The following resolution carried—"That this meeting records its unabated interest in the Home Rule movement, and urges upon the delegates to the forthcoming Pan-Celtic Convention that in order to secure the restoration to Ireland of her Parliament, it is essential that every legitimate means should be adopted to re-unite the National representatives under one leader."

> College de Chezal-Benoit, Cher, France, August 28th.

To JOHN DILLON, M.P.

Dear Sir,—I am honoured with being the monthpiece of my Irish ecclesiastical friends here, who regret not to be able to sanction by their presence, but who at least assist by their prayers and wishes, the great and glorious Convention in which much of Ireland's weal is involved. Though estranged from the dear old land, like so many others who have tasted the bread of exile, our love of country remains ever woven round our hearts, as the love of our mother, and it is with our hearts and minds fondly round our hearts, as the love of our mother, and it is with our hearts and minds fondly straying over to green Erin that we watch and glory in our country's gallant struggles. Distance, however great, precludes us not from being keenly interested in her faith, in her language, and her future. We, too, can feel the misery of Ireland far away, and it is with hearts grieved even to sadness at the spectacle of her seemingly neverending calamities that we pray God for her speedy happiness. Greatly we lament to behold the spirit of crusted revolt which seems to animate a few of our honest countrymen, and which is so hurtful to our National interests, whilst gratifying to every foe of Ireland's rights and Ireland's welfare. But we rejoice at length to hear Irishmen all the world over sounding the trumpet of peace, and with one voice blaming dissension and calling for unity. To effect this unity at such a momentous crisis, your immense re-union is undoubtedly the best and surest mean. In consequence, it reflects no little credit and honour on its talented promoters, as well as on the numerous delegates who enhance it by their attendance. Besides, it lays the ground of a great and fervent hope—all a nation's rancour and bitterness crowding to a burying point, and that people—the most heroic and virtuous on the face of the earth—blended together both in views and aspirations, will then get ready for that other great day of which the Convention is the harbinger, and on which all the wounds of Erin will be healed and her tears wiped away. Divided as they are by their insane dissensions, all Irishmen concur in this one exalted sentiment—this one sublime sensation—their thirst after the hour and the ineffable desire of Ireland's freedom. Now it is that this hour is beaming with a cheering warmth and a seductive brilliancy, and any Irishman who refuses to sacrifice his parriedal passion and his bitter resentment on the altar of the Convention which is the altar of his country, obscures the fair prospect, and must not only be "unnational," but unnatural. The great and respectable gathering will, we hope, be crowed with success, and thus, please God, Irishmen will henceforth stand shoulder to shoulder, and once again make Ireland a reunited National Ireland, and show the world "what Irishmen can do."

I remain, dear sir, in the name of my Irish Professors and Seminarists, yours faithfully in C. I.

[Rev.] DANIEL BUCKLEY.

Ashley House, Staveley Road, Eastbourne, 28th August, 1896.

SECRETARY, IRISH NATIONAL FEDERATION, 24 RUTLAND SQUARE, DUBLIN,

Dear Sir,—I deeply regret that owing to ill-health, and having been for the last ten days laid up with influenza, I shall be unable to attend the Irish Race Convention on the 1st September, as I am not yet well enough to travel, and my doctor will not allow me to do so for another week.

I am, dear sir, faithfully yours,

J. EUSTACE JAMESON [M.P.]

12 Stories Alley, Leith, August 30th, 1896.

To DAVID SHEEHY, Esq.

Dear Sir,...-Please submit the enclosed resolution on behalf of the Irishmen in Leith in the interest or unity and the Irish Parliamentary Party. Wishing you every success.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

FRANCIS DONAGHY.

Leith, 30th August, 1896.

At a meeting of the T. D. Sullivan Branch held to-day the following resolution At a meeting of the T. D. Sullivan Branch held to-day the following resolution was unanimously passed in view of the forthcoming gathering of representatives of the Irish Race in Dublin:—"Irish residents in Leith, Scotland, are desirous of impressing upon the people of Ireland the urgency of once and for all putting their foot on the neck of faction from any quarter whatever; and we believe that the Irish people, after duly considering all phases of what has been the cause of disunion, should ask the promoters of faction through their constituencies to retire at once from public life and allow their places to be taken by those who are willing to pursue such a policy as will best serve the interests of the Irish people." T. Burke, 9 Albert Street, Cemetry Road Darwen, August 30th, 1896

To DAVID SHEEHY, M.P., Dublin.

Dear Mr. Sheehy, - Circumstances prevent us from being personally represented Dear Mr. Sheehy.—Circumstances prevent us from being personally represented at the great Convention of our scattered race, consequently we adopt this method of expressing our feelings. Speaking on behalf of eighty members of our branch, and on behalf of the Nationalist population of Darwen, we are solid for unity. Dissension now, as in the past, is, and has been, the curse of our country, her people, and her cause. Our one desire then is to see unity restored once more in the Nationalist ranks. Irish freedom must not be sacrificed for personal spleen; Ireland first, personal Fundation and ambition after. No man should be allowed to bar the progress of unity and freedom. The eyes of all nations are focussed on your deliberations to-day. Aye, the very spirits of departed heroes who loved Ireland more than personal ambition, will be hovering over and about you. Sarsfield, Grattan, Flood, Curran, Charlemont, Fitzgerald, Tone, and Emmet, O'Connell, Mitchel, Martin, Meagher, Butt, and Parnell, they were all for Ireland. Therefore, in God's name, close your ranks, show a bold front to the common enemy, and show the nations that the Celtic race are both worthy of and canable of managing their own affairs. God bleas vote race are both worthy of and capable of managing their own affairs. God bless your proceeding, and God save Ireland is the wish of the Darwen Branch.

Signed on behalf of the Darwen Branch,

WILLIAM M'CARTHY, President. THOMAS BURKE, Secretary.

House of Commons Library August 31st, 1896.

D. SHEEHY, Esq., M.P., Dublin.

My Dear Sheehy,-Your card of admission to the Convention received on Satur-I regret that on account of pressing private affairs I cannot at present leave

London.

I hope sincerely that the issue of the Convention's deliberations will be satisfactory to the people of Ireland. -- Yours sincerely,

JAMES O'CONNOR [M.P.]

The following telegram was also read:-

"To Chairman Irish Race Convention, Dublin. South Islington Branch, London, heartily with success to Convention, and sincerely hope that fasting benefit to Irish cause may result from its deliberations. God save Iteland. CAINE, President; SLYNE, Vice-President; MISS LYNCH, Treasurer."

Letters regretting inability to attend and of sympathy with the Convention were received from Very Rev. Dean Beechinor, Launcestown, Tasmania; Messrs. Thomas O'Brien, Gormanstown; and C. M'Carthy, Neath, Glamorganshire.





JOHN FERGUSON, (See pp. 78, 191.)



REV. PATRICK F. FLYNN₄ (See pp #6, 202, 906-230.)



ALDERMAN W. J. SMYTH. (See pp. 78, 202.)



THOMAS POWER O'CONNOR, M.P. (See 80, 204, 312.)

SECOND DAY-2ND SEPTEMBER, 1896.

The chair was taken at 11 o'clock by the chairman, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe.

Mr. DAVITT, M.P.—I have to announce that two delegates from America have arrived—General Martin T. MacMahon, of New York, and Mr. Michael Murphy, of New York. I have also to announce that I have received from Hobart, Tasmania, the credentials of another delegate from that island. The Rev. Fasher O'Callaghan, of Mallow, one of the hon. secs. of this Convention, is appointed to represent South Tasmania.

The CHARMAN—In the course of the proceedings yesterday a notice was handed in of a motion to limit the time of the speeches. Now, it may be well to see first what progress can be made without any such limit. Resolutions L and M* go practically on the lines of the first resolution proposed by Mr. Webb, and the convenient course, I think, will be to afford the gentlemen entrusted with those resolutions an opportunity to speak, if they are so disposed, on this first resolution of Mr. Webb's. There is another resolution which does not appear on the agenda paper, to which I referred last night, and which, in a somewhat different form, will be proposed by Father Flynn, of Waterford. I am not sure, but it may be an amendment to these resolutions, and if it be quite convenient for Father Flynn now, I think it will help the progress of our deliberations if he addresses the assembly in the first place.

The following resolution was under discussion when the Convention adjourned the previous day:—

(1) REUNION.—"Seeing that divisions amongst Irish Nationalist representatives paralyse, to a great extent, their power of serving Ireland, cast discredit on the country, and tend to alienate the support of the Irish Race, and to destroy their confidence in the efficacy of Parliamentary action, we record our firm conviction that it is of the first importance to Ireland that the Nationalist representatives in Parliament should be re-united into one Party; and, in the spirit of the recent resolution of the Irish Party, we declare that: 'In our earnest desire to accomplish that result, we are prepared to meet, on fair and equal terms, all Nationalists who will join in the attempt to re-constitute a united Home Rule Party, in which every supporter of the movement shall be cordially received and justly considered, regardless of all past differences, and having regard only to his capacity to render service to the common cause.' We are glad to observe in the composition of this Convention and in the spirit shown throughout the country, marked evidence of a growing tendency to reunion, and we invite the Irish Nationalist Party to take such further steps as may to them seem calculated to promote the cause of reunion."

^{*} All the resolutions on the agenda paper will be found at the conclusion of Third Day's proceedings.

Rev. P. F. FLYNN, P.P.—The amendment that I have to propose is worded as follows:—

"That this Convention select from the delegates here assembled a committee of arbitration consisting of home and foreign delegates, which committee shall be empowered to provide for the consideration and acceptance, if approved of by the Convention, a set of rules forming a common platform, upon which all Irish Nationalists may stand again united, and work loyally together as a whole for the good of our common country."

My lord, ladies and gentlemen-I rise before this magnificent assembly to propose this, what I consider to be the practical work for which this Convention has been summoned. Yesterday we had the advantage of hearing delegates from all the world over, I may say, and they all came empowered to act in this magnificent assembly, and I remarked that they scored a point when they said they came untrammelled, unpledged, unbiassed, and with only one idea, and that was a prayer and a request that the people of Ireland should be again united. We have heard, therefore, the prayer for unity, and each and everyone in this hall, his eye is hot to see a united Ireland again. Eloquence will not unite the people. Eloquence may please them and electrify them, but in order that the Convention may be able to say "veni, vidi, vici," a common platform must be established, on which the people of Ireland shall be called upon to stand, as you have the power and the right to demand. If such a resolution as I am proposing be not adopted, the delegates will go home, and they will be able to say, "I have come and I have seen," but they will not be able to add the magic words, "I have conquered, I have put down strife, and I have put down faction." The business of this Convention is to form a platform upon which all Irish Nationalists may stand together, as of old, shoulder to shoulder, acting in concert, honestly, manfully, and practically, for the good of the country. It is not necessary, my lord and delegates, to enter at length into the necessity of a resolution or amendment of this kind. I think it will have the approbation of everyone who is honestly inclined to see a united Ireland again. The factionists will not respond to your call. It was not supposed that they would respond to it, and we have evidence to-day that they ignore it with contumely. But you, the Irish peopleyou have the power and authority to say "go," and they must go; "come," and they must come. You are the masters of the situation. In you rests the power-on you lies the heavy obligation of making the members and the people a united and compact body again. Are you prepared to do your duty? If you are I say unhesitatingly that you will adopt the resolution that I have proposed to you; and if you adopt that I think you will cut the ground from under dissension-you will have saddled the right horse, and all Ireland will know who are right and who are wrong. With these few remarks, I beg to propose formally the resolution or amendment that stands in my name.

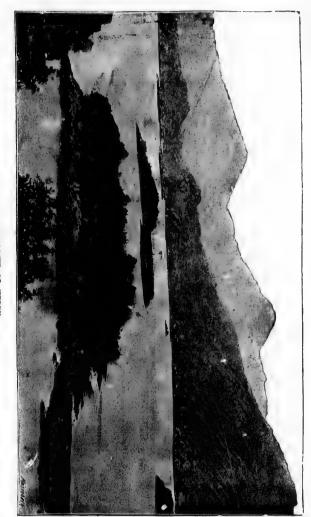
Alderman W. J. SMYTH, Mayor of Waterford—My lord and fellow-countrymen, it is with a great deal of diffidence I presume to come before an assembly of this kind to-day to second any amendment or resolution. But, impressed with the importance of such a gathering as this is, I, as a consistent Nationalist all my lifetime, considered, on looking over the agenda paper yesterday with Father Flynn and some

friends, that there was nothing practical on it to make the Convention end in any practical purpose being accomplished. I was more impressed by that on yesterday evening when the delegate from Pennsylvania remarked that he had been listening all the evening and day to different speeches, but that he never heard a single suggestion as to the practical result of the Convention. As Father Flynn has properly said, eloquence is very good, but eloquence will not unite us. And as we have met here to-day for the purpose of unity, I unhesitatingly appear before you to ask you to accept the resolution proposed by Father Flynn, or any amended resolution that may spring from it. I appear here to second that motion, as I said before, as an Irish Nationalist; I am no man's man. I never was any man's man. I was always, in my humble sphere, my country's man, and it is for that purpose I ask you here to-day to consider, calmly and quietly, the resolution that has been proposed to you, because, unless some such resolution or kindred one is accepted, we will go as we came and end as we came. Gentlemen, it has been stated in canvassing this resolution that the different parties, amongst whom there is more or less friction, have been asked already to this Convention. They have been asked to this Convention, but they may naturally say that those who asked them had no power to ask them. (Cries of "They had.") I am only talking, gentlemen, on what is said. I am not expressing my own opinions; but I say, when the mandate of this Convention goes out to them, I would then say that the man or the patriot-the man who professes to be a patriot, and refuses to respond to this Convention here to-day, will take on himself a responsibility more fearful than has yet rested on any of our members, and a responsibility which, if I know my own countrymen, those whom he is obligated to will make him answer truly for. Gentleman, I am more impressed by this, because I come from a city which has taken no undecided part. The citizens of Waterford, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, and in which they are perfectly justified, have taken a certain course in this quarrel. I, as a citizen of Waterford, along with a great many others, have differed in that way, and we have a right to differ; but unless some mandate of the kind that we propose is sent forward to them, how can I or any other man ask a man who differs from me in politics, and who has a right to differ with me-and honestly differs with me-how can I ask that man to surrender and say, "You are right and I am wrong?" If you want to have unity we must go and meet them, and ask them to meet us. We must hold out the hand of fellowship to them, and say we have been differing, we have been disunited; now at last let these disgraceful differences end, and let us shake hands once more, and work together for our country's cause. We want no renunciation of principle, we want no recantation of errors. We may be wrong and they may be wrong. Let us come forward and say we are all working for the one end. The people are united. Unity is the one policy for attaining our right; it is the miserable dissensions and quarrels of those that ought to be ashamed of the quarrels that have led to disunion. I have taken a life-long interest in the fortunes of my country, and I say it is time now for the people to take up the power which they possess-take it into their own hands; and I reiterate the sentiments of Father Flynn when I say that the men who are our leaders

are the servants and not the masters of the people. I am not actuated by any party or personal consideration. There is no man in this assembly respects the gentleman behind me more than I do; but no matter who they are or what they are if they stand in the way of their country's union, let them go. I won't detain you any longer; it is for you to say will you accept it or not. I ask you to accept it or some modified form of it. I understand this amendment will be opposed, and I ask you therefore, as a confederated body to-day, whoever proposes or criticises this amendment let him put forward some alternative. Let us have no carping criticism with no result. The proposer will accept any modification of the amendment. Let any other resolution be put forward, and there will be no warmer supporter of it to-day than me. Let us have some resolution of the kind, and not go away with nothing in our hands. Let us not make the Convention a farce and a fiasco. If we do fail in our efforts to-day it will not be my fault, and I'll go back home again regretting that the men who ought to be patriots and leaders of the people have not found themselves able to sacrifice petty jealousies for

the common interest and honour of our poor country.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.—My lord bishop and gentlemen of the Convention, this body has shown itself an extremely responsive and faithful echo to the sentiments which brought it into existence. It was brought into existence for the purpose of putting down dissension and re-establishing unity in the Irish movement. It arose originally from a letter of the Archbishop of Toronto, followed up by a resolution, to which I shall have to refer by and by, passed unanimously by the Irish Party calling this Convention together. And every gentleman who has addressed this meeting has made himself also the faithful and responsive echo of the feeling which the Convention represents, that feeling being a desire for putting down dissension and for the re-establishment of unity. Yesterday we had, I think, one of the most remarkable and striking manifestations that an Irish or any other political body ever saw. We had a number of delegates from almost every part of the world, every single one of them, if not Irish by birth, Irish by extraction or Irish by sympathy, bringing before, not only us, but the larger world outside, the great fact which we ought always to remember, and especially in moments of depression and discouragement, that the cause of Ireland no longer rests upon the comparatively small number of Irish people within the Irish shores, but rests on the wider and stronger basis of a worldwide Nation. But as that array of speakers from all parts of the world brought home to us our strength, it also brought home to us the means by which that strength can be properly utilised, and our weakness therefore removed, and the joint and unanimous appeal of all these gentlemen was that discussion should be put down and that unity should be restored. And, therefore, my lord bishop, if I were to approach the consideration of any proposal made from any quarter whatever in any other spirit than a spirit of trying to help to put down dissension and the restoration of unity, I would put myself at once in direct conflict with the dominant and overwhelming and passionate opinion, not only of this gathering, but of Irishmen wherever they are. And, therefore, my lord, I think I need scarcely assure this audience that I approach the consideration of Father Flynn's amendment in exactly the same spirit as he



GLENGARRIFF, CO TRRY.

has spoken, and as everybody else has spoken-namely, a spirit of trying to find some means of putting down dissension and restoring unity, and I am bound to say this, that, apart from the object with which this amendment was proposed, it recommends itself to my judgment and yours, I am sure, from the character of the man who proposed it. There is not even in this large gathering a more honest, a braver, or a more sincere priest or Nationalist in Ireland than Father Flynn, who proposed this resolution, and I am perfectly sure that in the remotest recesses of his mind and of his conscience you could not find any trace or any desire, whatever, in proposing this resolution but the desire to put down dissension and restore unity, and, therefore, I approach this amendment as an honest amendment intention, proposed by an honest mind for an honest end, and the one test which I shall apply to it is, will this amendment carry out the purpose which it intends or will it not? If it carry out the purpose then in heaven's name let us all support it. If it be destined to fail, to defeat the purpose of unity, equally is it our duty unanimously, or if not unanimously, by an overwhelming majority, to reject it. Well, now, I shall test it.

A Voice-Give us the alternative.

Mr. O'CONNOR-If my friend will allow me to proceed with my argument I am sure I shall give it in a way to which no sane or susceptible man can object, and every opportunity will be given to accept or refute this argument. My lord bishop-I first must call attention to a single fact. I don't do it by way of complaint, but by way of elucidating the situation. In the first place an opportunity was given to every man in Ireland-to every Nationalist in Ireland-to present to this Convention for consideration any proposal or any amendment which he desired. And, of course, the object was to give to this body, which has most important if not supreme functions to discharge and fulfil, adequate opportunity of reading in print and camly considering any proposal that was made. Well, the proposal of Father Flynn does not appear in the agenda paper. That to a certain extent takes the Convention at a disadvantage, but that is not the complete history of this amendment. I am glad that calm and better counsels have prevailed. Better counsels will always ultimately prevail in such cases. But I feel bound to give this Convention the original form in which this amendment was handed up to the chair. And here is what it was-

Rev. P. F. FLYNN—If I thought it well to change my amendment and to put it in the form in which I changed it before this assembly, I do it for a certain reason. I did it that it might commend itself to every individual in the assembly. I found on consideration that it might be contentious in the way in which it was worded, and I want to avoid contention if possible. I want to have no friction, and, therefore, upon advice I changed the resolution, because I was informed it would obtain a more general support if I did so. Therefore, I say it is unfair—and I submit the matter to the chairman—I say it is unfair to animadvert to a

resolution that I never proposed.

The CHAIRMAN—As Father Flynn's resolution reached me in its unamended form, and was seen here by a number of persons yesterday in its unamended form, including Mr. O'Connor, I don't think, on a strict point of order, I can rule against Mr. O'Connor reading the text.

But for the harmony of the Convention I suggest a middle course to Mr. O'Connor, and that is without reading the resolution as amended in its or an amended

Mr. O'CONNOR—Of course, my lord bishop, I shall immediately comply with your suggestion, and I will give, without even looking at the original amendment, my recollection of what it was, and Father Flynn will have an opportunity of correcting me if I mistake its terms by my recollection of it. The original amendment was that a committee of arbitration should be appointed from this Convention, consisting of seven members of what were called the three contending sections of Irish Nationalists-and I think the foreign delegates were to have a representation of ten-and that this committee should submit to this Convention a plan of action upon which all the three contending sections could ultimately unite and work together. I am very glad, I am delighted, no words can express my joy, at the withdrawal of the original form of the amendment, because it is a withdrawal from a position which I would have felt it my duty to condemn and reprobate in the strongest manner. It is true that there are two contending sections of Irish Nationalists. There is the Parnellite Party, and there is the Irish Parliamentary Party. When you deal with the Parnellites they are entitled to demand, and you are compelled to admit, that they are a separate and independent party. They are wrong for being so. Don't misunderstand my position. They are entitled to call themselves a separate and independent party, and we are bound to acknowledge them. They have very good reasons as they may think, very bad reasons as you and I may think, but they broke the Party pledge, and a certain number of constituencies elected them after breaking that pledge. Therefore, they are entitled to be regarded as a separate and independent party. But we come to the Irish Parliamentary Party. What right has any man to describe it as consisting of two sections or two parties? Gentlemen, I am going down to the very root of this whole difficulty, and if this Convention is not going to end in emptiness, in laughter, and in contempt, it will have to go down to the roots of this whole difficulty. What right has any man to speak of two sections in the Irish Party? Let us see what is the constitution of that Party. Every single member of that Party, without exception, has signed the pledge to sit, act, and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party, to be bound by the decisions of its majority, and either to loyally obey its decisions or to honestly withdraw from the Party. I put this point to the Convention. I say that every single member of the Irish Party signed that pledge; but I go further, and I say he was elected because he signed that pledge, and I say further, that if he had refused to sign that pledge he would have been ignominiously rejected. Therefore, the pledge of party unity and party loyalty is the whole foundation or right by which any member of the Party sits as an Irish representative. What follows from that? That to speak of two parties in our Party is to tear down and destroy, not merely—I will do nothing now to destroy the future-but I say that to admit or acknowledge or recognise, to treat as one of the high contracting parties, one section of our Party, instead of with the Party as a whole, it is to tear down the foundations of National unity now and for ever. (Prolonged cheering, the whole assembly rising

to their feet and waving their hats. The demonstration was repeated a

second time.)

Does anybody in the possession of the ordinary amount of human sense not devoured by some demon of prejudice and folly, does anybody suppose that we who have to bear the burden and responsibility of this movement approach any proposition from the point of view of personal rancour or personal interest? We would be not merely inhuman monsters, who were betraying their country, but such a phenomenon of insane folly as no political movement ever produced. If this movement succeed, and by your help, and in spite of foes within and without, it is going to succeed, if it succeed I don't know what personal glory its success would bring to us. But if it fail you may be sure that upon our heads the guilt and the responsibility will be laid. Therefore, any proposition for conciliation, concession, and union that has the appearance of safety and a stable future, demands our cordial assent. Does that mean, however, that we are to lead you into a fool's paradise and ask you in the name of conciliation and concession to accept a proposition which would lead to the destruction, not merely now but for all time, of the principle upon which unity must ever be founded? I am very glad to see that Father Flynn has abandoned the proposition that there are two sections in the Irish Party. I am very glad of the reason he gave for it. I am sure the premier desire of Father Flynn was to do an honest day's work for Ireland. I do not impute any other motive to Father Flynn, and I am sure he will give me full right to discuss freely, and even, if necessary, to condemn some of the opinions he propounded, without meaning any disrespect, for he enjoys my personal respect. I am very glad at the second reason given by Father Flynn for abandoning his proposition. The second reason was that he had consulted his friends, and his friends advised the withdrawal of the proposition in the interests of the Convention. Aye, the reason was that he knew that the sovereign assembly, the power and magnificence of which he has publicly testified to, would, if the proposition of two sections in the Party was put before them, scout and trample upon such a proposition. Well, now, I come to the consideration of what are the methods and means by which dissension is to be put down, and now I will answer my friend who, in a somewhat prematurethough naturally with the ardour of an ardent Irishman-in a somewhat premature spirit asked me for my alternative. Is this Convention sovereign or not? (Cries of "Yes," and cheers.) Is it a success or a failure? (Cries of "Success," and renewed cheers.) Is it a hole and corner, squalid, and petty little gathering? ("No.") Is it a miserable little affair, or is it, as Father Flynn must acknowledge, and gladly acknowledge, the largest, the most representative, and the most noble gathering of Irishmen that ever assembled together? I will throw some light upon the situation that I think will help to guide you in your decision. This Convention was initiated by a letter of the Archbishop of Toronto, and was called by a unanimous vote of the Irish Party. Every member of the Irish Party was one of those by whom this Convention was brought into being. Why is not every member of the Irish Party here? Gentlemen, I don't intend to lower my speech to the point of personal controversy, and I hope you won't do it for me. I am discussing no man, but principles. Why isn't every member of the Irish



REV. WILLIAM MEAGHER₄ (See pp [36, 215,)



WILLIAM SULLIVAN. (See pp. 87, 216.)



DR. W. P. O'MEARA. (See pp. 89, 218.)



REV. PETER O'LEARY. (See pp. 90, 220.)

Party here? If he had charges to make why is not he here to make them? If he had complaints to allege why is not he here to make them? If we be the dishonest and unscrupulous tricksters we have been declared to be a hundred times over, why are not these charges, taken from private and whispered conversations, from private letters, from newspapers that can be avowed or disavowed-why aren't they torn from these dark and narrow recesses and brought here into the light of day where we stand now before our fellow-countrymen? Furthermore, this Convention-I must recur to the point again and again, because it is the essence of the situation-this Convention was called by the unanimous vote of the Irish Party, Did every member of the Irish Party do his best to make it a success? Why, my Lord Bishop, is not it notorious that every device and every means, fair and foul, have been exhausted for the purpose of making this Convention not the great success it has been, but an abject and miserable failure. I will not scandalise the enemy by telling all I know of the attempts that were made to destroy this Convention, especially in the full and satisfactory knowledge that these attempts have failed. They have been made and they have failed. Well, what was the first line of attack? The first line of attack was to withdraw from the Convention, and not come before it with any charge. The second line of attack was to try and prevent the Convention from being a success or a numerous body. But now we come to the third line of attack, the most insiduous of all. Father Flynn is no party to it. From the bottom of my heart and conscience I acquit him of any share or any responsibility, or even any knowledge of the third line of attack.

Rev. E. MURNANE, Bermondsey, London-I rise to a point of

Mr. O'CONNOR—My lord bishop will keep order. The third line of attack is this—the Convention is here assembled; its power and authority are acknowledged by everyone.

Rev. E. MURNANE still continued to call out "Point of order," and was brought by one of the stewards up to the front of the platform. Mr. O'Connor sitting down in the meantime.

CHAIRMAN-May I ask your point of order?

Rev. E. MURNANE—My lord, I was unwilling to interrupt Mr. O'Connor, but I wish to ask your lordship (I have brought delegates here on the plea that every party was welcome to this meeting). I ask, therefore, my lord, whether you think that the speech that Mr. O'Connor is making is likely to bring about that unity that we have all come here for?

CHAIRMAN—It is not the province of a chairman of a Convention like this to say whether any speech delivered to the Convention is

effective for its purpose or not.

Mr. O'CONNOR—My reverend friend was quite within his rights to try and interrupt me on a point of order, and he has been ruled out of order by the lord bishop who is in the chair; but our reverend friend was really making an argument, and what I suppose appeared to his better judgment a reply to my argument, in place of a point of order. And what was his argument? That I was controverting the principle that everybody was welcome to this Convention. Why, I am reasserting that principle, and my complaint is that though the doors have been

opened as widely and generously as they can, men have not come here and accepted our invitation. Now, gentlemen, I go to the third line of attack on the Convention. My reverend friend is quite at liberty to differ from me as to the effect of my words. It will be for you to decide. But I come to the third line of attack, and what does that mean? The Convention, in spite of every effort to make it a failure, has been a success. In spite of every effort to make it small it has been unprecedentedly large. In spite of every attempt to make it disunited it has been unprecedentedly harmonious. You are here, I believe, of one mind. I believe I may go further and say that that one mind is the determination that party unity must be preserved by party loyalty and by majority rule, which is the only method by which any party, or any society, or any government can be kept together. I believe further that besides being of one mind you are of one purpose, and that besides being of one purpose you are also inspired by the resolve, the inflexible determination to make that purpose effective for the future of Ireland Well, what does that mean? It means that you are determined, as I understand your convictions and your temper, not merely to assert your faith in the principle of party unity and party loyalty, but also to proclaim to all the world your stern determination to put down every man and every set of men who would stand in the way. You see, gentlemen, that that determination of yours, while it is full of hope for the Irish movement and for loyal men, is full of terror and danger for the disruptionists and wreckers, and, therefore, a removal of the greatest danger that ever threatened them would be the removal of your determination to put down all wreckers, and, therefore, the wreckers want to stand between you and your determination. Well, if a committee were appointed—a committee of arbitration—for the purpose of settling our differences on one platform, what would become of the Convention? Assume the committee was in the next room, I want to know how long the committee is to last-I want to know how long it is to sit, and when it is to report? When is the committee to be expected to report? It would be a pretty quick committee if it reported to-day within a few hours. We are not going to sit beyond four, and I don't think it could report before that. Therefore, it could not report to-day, and would it report to-morrow? I do not think it could. Ave, but if it were a committee consisting of the right kind of men who were determined not to make this Convention effective, but to make it impotent, it would be quite ready to report on Friday, when the Convention would have disappeared as completely as the snow in summer. And so you see this great body, which was brought here for a great work, and is determined to do that work, would be in such a case dispersed without doing anything, and I say, therefore, that the carrying or acceptance of such a proposal would mean the death of the Convention. And, speaking in no language of exaggeration-speaking in no heat-but speaking from the depths of my conviction and consideration of this question, I declare it my opinion that the death of this Convention would be the death of the Irish Constitutional movement.

And now, gentlemen, I think I have dealt with the tactics and purposes, not of Father Flynn, but of those who are the enemies of this Convention. Gentlemen, it may be a hard thing to say, but it must be

said, the one way to restore unity is to put down disunion, and the one way to put down disunion is not to treat it as an independent and equal power gaining authority by its treason, but to do what Father Flynn asks you to do and what the Mayor of Waterford asks you to do-to do your duty and show your determination that any man who violates his pledge or breaks up party unity will no longer have to deal merely with the majority of his colleagues but with a united and determined and a manly Irish people. And now I may be asked if we have any plan for dealing with party dissension. My answer to that is this: Read your agenda paper; read the first sentence of the first resolution. The first resolution, as you will observe, begins by expressing the great concern of this Convention at the existence of dissension. It goes on to hold out again, as we have done many times before, the hand of friendship and fellowship to every Nationalist who is now arrayed against us; and then, as our invitation is not accepted, it goes on to say that we are glad to observe in the composition of this Convention, and in the spirit shown throughout the country, a marked evidence of a growing tendency to re-union, and "we invite the Irish Nationalist Party to take such further steps as may seem to them calculated to promote the cause of re-union." Or, in other words, you command your Irish Party, and you give them full powers to take any and every step that may bring about the re-union of the Nationalists of Ireland. What more do you want? Do you trust your Irish Party, If you trust your Irish Party, trust them all in all or not at all; and if they are good enough to be entrusted with the liberties and the cause of Ireland they are good enough to choose the time, the season, and the means by which the Parnellites can be approached. Look at the second resolution for a moment, though I am a little out of order in alluding to it, but the amendment to a certain extent deals with the second as well as with the first resolution. What does the second resolution say? There again you call upon the Irish Party to be united; you call upon them to observe their pledge, to preserve their unity, and you call upon them, voicing your opinion, to take such steps, if the pledge be broken, as to make the pledge respected by every member of the Party. Now, there is my alternative proposal. My proposal is to stand by the resolution on the agenda paper, which has not only expressed a wish for union, but it points out the body and means of restoring union. Now, my friends, one word finally. We are to-day at the parting of the ways in Irish politics. As this Convention decides the movement will live and grow, or fail and die. I make the distinction between our present movement and the Irish cause. Movements have failed before, but the cause of Ireland is green and immortal, and if our means and our methods fail we know very well what the spirit of our countrymen is. And what I put most solemnly and earnestly to Father Flynn and to every good and sincere man-can there be a more serious and a more terrible responsibility on any man or any set of men than to make our people think that the Constitutional movement has failed and driven them back into dangerous and terrible measures, and have former times repeated, and men again like those who walked out of English jails a few weeks ago-men decrepit and prematurely old. Is that to go on? Is it to be repeated? Are you going to send other Allens, Larkins, and O'Briens to the scaffold? Are you going to send other Davitts to

Dartmoor, or have you made up your minds that this Constitutional movement shall get a united support, and in that way, in spite of treason and of malice, shall make the world once more resound to the tread of the united Tries millions marching on the process and distorts.

the united Irish millions marching on to peace and victory.

The Very Rev. JOHN O'LEARY, P.P., V.F., Clonakilty—My lord, rev. gentlemen and delegates of this magnificent Convention, I wish to add a few observations of mine to what has been said by the eloquent member who has just addressed you. In regard to the resolution, or amendment rather, proposed by my friend, Father Flynn, of Waterford, I can fairly say that I have the honour of knowing Father Flynn for many long years, and enjoyed, I may say, perhaps, his friendship, I have to endorse everything said by Mr. O'Connor relative to the splendid ability and marked patriotic services and that well-known interest which he has always taken in the cause of Ireland. Having said so much regarding the proposer of this amendment I now come to deal with it on its merits, and will begin by saying that I fully agree with every observation made by Mr. O'Connor as to the insiduous nature of the attempts made to interfere with the harmony and success of our Convention. I trust I'll not be found to repeat in my weak way any of the arguments that have been so splendidly elucidated by him. There are yet a few remarks that occur to me on points in this amendment that Mr. O'Connor has not dwelt upon. Now, gentlemen, we are asked to appoint a committee of arbitration. I unhesitatingly say here to-day before you and before the whole world that this Convention is the committee of arbitration. We know the men who are here, their names have been in the papers; we know their credentials; we know their representative position; we know many of us who have never missed a Convention in Dublin or Cork for the last sixteen years-we know who welcomed their honest faces at this assemblage as we did in the old days of the Land League and the National Federation. If there is anything to be arbitrated upon it is by this Convention it should be arbitrated upon in the open light of day. Gentlemen, I will not trash out mere technical or constitutional questions as to how far we may constitutionally and legally sub-delegate any powers to any committee whatever. I will not trash out technical things of that kind, but I will say to you that you could not possibly form any sub-committee whatever that would have a thousandth part of the influence and of the moral effect produced by those here assembled. In the second place, my dear friends, I take it for granted that at this period of our lives we are not mere tyros in politics. We know something about how committees are formed, and is not it a curious thing that when we have now the second edition of this amendment-the first edition has been dealt with-I saw it, and I would have dealt with it were it not taken from before me-but when we have now the second edition we do not find on that paper the name of a single man to whom we are to delegate this power. We all heard of the amendment of the Prime Minister who thought of his party making a leap in the dark, but there never was such a leap into nebulous tenebrosity as there would be if we were to form a committee—I hope my friend, Dean Harris, is listening to me—of veritable nobodies. They are the nobodies in reality, because there is no man or anbody put before us.



REV. M. B. KENNEDY. (See pp. 92, 227.)



M. O'MEARA. (See pp. 93, 230.)



JOHN B. O'HIGGINS. (See pp. 94, 241.)



TIMOTHY MICHAEL HEALY. (See p. 96.)

Now, gentlemen, if we were to find on that paper the names of a subcommittee of representative public men, and if we were to be assured, in the second place, by one who had authority to speak, that each and every one of these men would go into the same room, or into some other place in this city, and give their best efforts to the drawing up of this platform, and bring it here before us, and if we were to be assured that at some date before this Convention was dissolved, and the delegates sent away to their homes to the furthermost ends of the earth, that this report would be presented to us, and if we were to consider it, I, gentlemen, make bold to say that there is no man here present to-day who would be more anxious to stretch a point, if I could stretch it, in order to bring about unity and harmony in our ranks. I defy anyone to say I have not been as well in politics after the split as I was before the split, and I defy anyone to point to a bitter or rankling word I ever gave expression to, whether to Parnellites or to the new section, and therefore all my sentiments and the feelings of my heart would rise up to second and endor the resolution proposed by Father Flynn. But, gentlemen, he gives is none of these particulars that you would require in the smallest little lawsuit if you brought a person into court. No bill of particulars, no names mentioned, no time mentioned. Gentlemen, we know what the result would be. It is not easy for the most rabid malignity of party to scoff at this magnificent gathering; but there is not a scoffer in the land that might not point the arrows of scorn at the deliberations of this bogus and hole-and-corner meeting. We are the representatives of Ireland and of the Irish race, and we are not privileged to speak. Yes, let there be a committee of arbitration as there is here to-day, and whether it be a man belonging to the party that left us unfortunately in 1890, or to that section that seems now as if they were about to leave us-it there be such a section-or whether it be any other man in this assembly, he will be heard here with any proposition that he makes; he will be heard with the greatest patience and the greatest consideration. And, gentlemen, are we to suppose that after the Irish nation and its best minds have been giving their best thoughts to this weighty matter for so many months and for so many years—are we to be told that there will be wisdom to be found in hidden and dark recesses, and that no practical suggestion can be made by an Irishman before his fellowcountrymen? Therefore, I say that no matter even if this amendment were proposed by an angel from heaven, the trail of the serpent is over every word. What, then, my lord and gentlemen, is it for us to do? It is for us, in my opinion, to vote down, if it be put to the vote, strenuously and manfully this amendment, which can possibly do no good, which will inevitably do harm, which will make us the laughing-stock of our friends as well as of our enemies, and which will send this Convention away, if it should be adopted, sine die et sine fructu, send us away for ever without having done one particle of good. Gentlemen, I thank you very heartily for the very patient hearing you have given me.

Rev. WILLIAM MEAGHER, C.C., Clonmel-Ladies and gentlemen, as yesterday was for oratory, and to-day for work, I will be as brief as possible. I appear before you to support the amendment of Father Flynn, of Waterford, and I will tell you that this is the tourth Convention I have attended in Dublin. This is not self-

laudatory, but for the purpose of making known that I am an old soldier in the cause, and that I have from the beginning maintained the principle of majority rule. I am for no person. I am for the cause. I have suffered for Ireland, and so has Father Flynn. And I can truthfully say that Father Flynn has suffered more in the cause of Ireland than any speaker who has appeared before you to-day. Father Flynn's amendment was inspired by the purest and best motives. I was present at an assembly of honest Irishmen who, having read the programme of this Convention, came to the conclusion that it would be desirable, in the interest of unity, in order to have our work complete, that a committee of the Convention should be freely elected yesterday. Father Flynn has not been honestly represented here. It was early on yesterday that Father Flynn drew up this resolution, and it was handed in to the Chair very soon after the Convention had opened. Father Flynn wished to submit that it should be received at yesterday's proceedings, that the committee should have last evening to deliberate, and that they shou'd have a platform this morning to submit to the Convention. That was merely in accordance with the licence of the agenda paper. The agenda paper stated that any member of the Convention could submit to the assemblage a resolution. Father Flynn, knowing how deep-rooted strife and dissension are in the land, and knowing that after passing quietly the resolutions on the agenda paper, and returning to our homes, we would hear next week that disunion had not been wiped out of the ranks, wished that a programme should be freely submitted for your approval, and it was for you to accept it or reject it. Father Flynn was then not dictating to the Convention. The resolution of the sub-committee would be submitted for your approval or disapproval, and it was in that spirit that Father Flynn proposed this resolution, and I believe I am within the bounds of truth in saying that there is not a purer or a more patriotic Irishman than Father Flynn, of Ballybricken, Waterford. We must be brief. I hope, as we are here for unity, we will set the example ourselves to day. Yesterday was a day that confused our enemies and rejoiced our friends. Yesterday was, in the words of the immortal O'Connell, "a great day for Ireland." I hope, as yesterday was, so will to-day be. I believe that when Father Flynn will appear before you again, the error that has gone abroad will be removed, and that you will consider more favourably the amendment that he has submitted for your approval. I have very great pleasure in supporting Father Flynn's amendment.

Mr. WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Bradford—My lord, ladies and gentlemen, we have come, myself and my colleagues, from England—Irishmen living in the heart of the enemy's country—to try and do our part over here to settle Irish differences, as we have worked like men in England for this holy cause of ours. When we heard the amendment proposed by the Rev. Father Flynn, we were astonished that anyone should think that we were so blind as to accept any retrogressive motion of that kind. I do not know Father Flynn myself, but I fully accept all that has been said of him by his friends as to his good intentions. But we do not want good intentions—we want good judgment. Here we are split in atoms. When we go on public platforms in England, and endeavour to heal up the differences of others, what are we told? "Go and heal your

own differences before you come to us." I come from a town where we had been described as miserable miscreants by some of those who had been members of your party. We had been called ignorant caitiffs also, Why? Because at the last general election, we thought of Ireland before we thought of anything else. We put our foot down at the last election. We parted with warm friends because we thought Ireland required our help first and foremost, and we were prepared to make any sacrifice to that end. Well, Bradford elected Tories at the last election, including Byron Reid, who called Father M'Fadden a murderer. From that you will see it would have been a disgrace to us had we acted in any other way than the way in which we have acted. We have come here to get strength for the cause of Ireland, and also something that will give us strength to fight our own battles in Great Britain. We are not going to be burked or put aside. I have been sent here with my colleagues to take counsel as to the best means of putting an end to the dissensions that unhappily exist. I do not believe in describing the different sections as "ites." I am no "ite," but I am an item in the National movement, and J say there is no man outside of the Redmondites-no Irish member of Parliament who has a mandate to fight against majority rule. What is it we have to consider? I say to you, Irishmen living in Ireland, what are your differences? What are you quarrelling about? We are all supposed to be agreed upon one principle. We are all Nationalists. It has often been said there must be differences of opinion. We know that the rivulets flow down the mountain side, join the stream, and flow on to the ocean in one compact mass. Well, what I want to say to this great gathering is that the groundwork of all unity is obedience to majority rule. We know these men may differ, but you men should know what we have to suffer in England when we find one Irish leader on a public platform at home blackguarding his colleagues and their enemies. As I have told them before, it matters not to us what your differences are. We don't want to hear them. Keep them to yourself, but fight the cause of Ireland before the You may have your differences, but do you imagine for one moment that the men who could not agree at the Round Table Conferences that had taken place to heal our splits-does anyone imagine that we are going to get it from a committee of this audience? There are twenty or thirty men in the audience that each of us may know. Who are the men we are to take for the committee? Are we to put on the committee the men who have been fighting each other? Who else are you to put on it? They are the only men that we know, and they are the only men we would trust.

Now, I say that the amendment spells delay, and delay spells danger, failure and damnation. If we cannot have wisdom in a multitude of counsellors at any rate we will try. When I think of the cause we are fighting for, when I think of the mighty issues that are at stake, it breaks one's heart to think that the men whom the frish people have trusted are the very men who knocked the olive branch but of our hands. What we want is to keep the Trich people. We talk of the glories of the country, and we have heard our friend: from America and Canada, all of them prosperous men, giving incentives to fight for the liberty of Ireland, to fight to keep the people at home, for if you

want to see the condition of the people who have left our land go into the bye-ways and the slums of Liverpool, Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, and see where our Irish girls have gone to. I say, if there are curses that cry to heaven for vengeance, it is the curse that has fallen upon our pure-minded girls, who have gone from their pure homes, driven from the old land. Why were they driven out? Because of faction. I have seen the people leaving Queenstown harbour, the bone and sinew of the land. What becomes of them often I want to know? We want these people to stay at home. We were told yesterday by the most rev. chairman of the extent of the overtaxation of Ireland. The only way to put an end to that overtaxation is by getting Home Rule for Ireland, and the only way to get Home Rule is to have one determined and united voice from Ireland demanding Home Rule; and to men who will not agree with the majority then I say, in the Yankee phrase, "Let them git," and they will have to get. We have men here from all parts of the world. We have men from England whose nationality burned bright, and we all appeal to you to be united, for we are all united in England. We don't know what you are fighting for. We have come here for a mandate, a mandate of peace or war. We appeal to every section of the Convention to act like the mighty streams that flow through your land. You have differing opinions, but like the rivulets that flow into the main stream, let each differing section flow into the main stream that travels on until our great cause flows in the broad ocean of Irish prosperity and liberty.

Dr. W. P. O'MEARA, Southampton-I, like the speaker who has preceded me, come to you from England, and I do not think that I would have said anything if it was not from a desire to draw out from the body of the hall the opinion of the delegates who remain there. I rise to support the amendment that has been moved by Father Flynn, and I do so for this reason. When I go back to Southampton, the branch of the National League called after the renowned Henry Grattan will demand of me what I carry home to them, what is the result of our Convention. And if I tell them that we passed such a resolution as the first resolution that is on the agenda paper, they will say to me, "What good is that?" We leave the matter in the hands of the Irish Parliamentary Party to deal with the sections that have sprung up in their own ranks. If the Irish Parliamentary Party had done their duty you and I would not have been here to-day. If the Irish Party, when they found men in their own ranks did not obey the pledge which they had signed to sit, act, and vote with the majority; if, when they found that they did not, they did not drive them from their ranks, then, I say, it is time that some other means should have been chosen. It is very hard for humble men from the ranks like myself to follow and try and controvert the arguments used so ably by Mr. O'Connor. But, nevertheless, I have got as much interest in the country as Mr. O'Connor, and I am sure every delegate in the hall has the very same right to express his ideas. Mr. O'Connor tells us that this Convention itself is a committee of arbitration. How can it be a committee of arbitration, when, upon his own admission, he tells you that members of Parliament who ought to be here, and who are members of the section who have created the discontent, he tells you that they have remained away?



TIMOTHY HARRINGTON, M.P. (See p. 101.)



(See pp. 105, 265.)



VERY REV. JOHN J. CANON MCCARTAN. (See pp. 106, 265, 271.)



HUGH MURPHY. (See pp. 108, 268.)

A Voice—They ought to be here.

Dr. O'MEARA-It is no answer to tell me they ought to be here. I am perfectly well aware they ought. But the fact remains, and facts are what we have got to deal with, that a large portion of the Irish representatives have remained away from this Convention. have remained away, and they are men of influence and position and have followers throughout the country. If these men remain away, how can you get them to arbitrate; how can you say we are arbitrating with them now when the deliberately abstain from coming amongst us? the same way the members of the Parnellite Party-I look around for any well-known representatives of the Parnellite Party, and I don't see any of them here.

A Voice—It was their own fault; they were invited to come. Another Voice—Did you see the *Independent?*

Dr. O'MEARA-Yes, my friends, I saw the Independent to-day, and I thought it a disgraceful production, and it is a poor day for Ireland when a paper which describes such a Convention as this as an "assembly of asses" can be publicly sold in Dublin. I support the amendment on these grounds, that if these men will not come to us we, like Mahomet, must go to the mountain. We must go to these men if they will not come to us. If these men do not come to us we must go to them (loud cries of "No, no"). Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean to say that we are to sacrifice a single principle that we have stood by and fought for; but I mean to say that we must go to them, to meet them and try and get them to come into our ranks (applause and interruptions). I don't want anyone to misunderstand me in this hall. I am an ardent supporter of majority rule, and thoroughly convinced that any man who does not obey it ought to be kicked out of the party. But I think this is a time and epoch for conciliation, and the best course we can adopt for the good of the country and the good of the cause we all hold so dear is to support and carry the amendment moved by Father Flynn (applause, dissent, and cries of "Vote").

The CHAIRMAN-There are some cries of "Vote," but I think we

might hear one or two more speakers.

Rev. P. O'LEARY, P.P., Castlelyons-My lord and fellow-delegates, you have heard a great deal of eloquence to-uay. You have heard a great many very solid maxims put before you to-day, but we delegates as a body are not what you can call Ciceros-we are not all born to be like Demosthenes-but I think as a body the great majority of us have been born with a fair share of common-sense. Consequently, as we cannot pretend to a very exalted standard of eloquence, and also being possessed of only the ordinary amount of common-sense, and claiming no more, we do not come here to enter into dark and mysterious details of the subject. There is an amount of mystery about this business of unity that I confess I cannot fathom. An amendment has been proposed asking that we who have come here from the ends of the earth and every part of Ireland should now hand over to somebody else the very purpose for which we came here. Now, suppose you appoint a committee of arbitrati n of course the committee appointed will come before you and say: "Please gentlemen, tell us what we are to do." Gracious me, was there ever a committee of arbitration that

had not to come before the people who appointed them, and get in black and white the lesson they were to carry out? Your committee will come and ask you to give them a programme and an agenda paper, and, of course, you will say: "Of course, we do not exactly know what we are to give you." Suppose we are anxious to show respect to those who have come from distant parts-from the ends of the earth-and we wish to appoint some of them on the committee of arbitration, they will ask us something like these questions: "Tell us," they will say, "is this dispute about Home Rule, because if it is we will settle the matter at once." But you will say: "Oh, no, we are all agreed as to Home Rule. Every one of us, even those most opposed to each other on other matters, are as one in support of Home Rule. In fact, even those most prepared to destroy each other, are in proportion most desperate advocates of Home Rule." The committee will say: "Gentlemen, what are we to do? You are all united on the question of Home Rule, and so there is no disunion at all." Their next question is: "Come to the point, does the difficulty consist of some point of detail; are you disunited as to whether it should be Home Rule or some other kind of local autonomy or self-government?" And you will say: "Oh, no, Home Rule is all right, and we are all united on the point." The answer is, "What is the row about then?" But then sombody will say, "Oh, that is a very deep question." It is an exceedingly deep and mysterious question. There is some awful dynamite business at the root of it, and if you touch it you will be blown up. So take care you don't touch it. I confess myself that that impression has been made upon my mind.

I came into this Convention feeling that the business was the plainest and most simple and open that could be, but when I have listened to the speeches on both sides I have asked myself is there not some terrible thing under this that I can't understand? So really and truly, as a delegate speaking to delegates, our duty here is to face this matter. What is the row about let us ask, as nobody else can give us an inkling of what it is about. Is it about majority rule? Not at all. They are all most terrible sticklers for majority rule. But I must confess that on that point of majority rule I am afraid there is a screw loose. What is the meaning of majority rule? That is the question. You remember the story about the animal in the wilderness. One man swore it was blue, another that it was black, and another that it was red, but they all swore what was true, because one saw it blue, another man saw it black, and another man saw it red. Now, I ask again, what is the meaning of majority rule? I have seen sometimes in the Press very strange expressions from men whom I consider excellent judges upon what majority rule means. I remember a man in the public Press protesting that he never would enter the Party because why should he for ever remain in a miserable minority. And now suppose I myself was a layman, and were elected a member of the Party that represents this country in the English House of Commons, and that this majority rule is proposed to me as the fundamental principle of the existence of that Party, and the source of its power—supposing somebody asked me: "What do you

mean by voting, sitting, and acting with the majority?" These are three nice words, but, oh, how easy it is to slip between them. I am, of

course, bound to obey the majority. Very well. I come to you and say: "I will obey the majority as long as the majority goes right. But is there any man on the face of the earth so stupid as to expect that I would obey a majority that is going to the mischief." Is that majority rule? What is a man in the minority to do?

A Voice-To obey.

Father O'LEARY—That is the point, and let the delegates pronounce their opinion out. If you examine the language you will find that there is a terrible mistake when a persons says, "I will obey the majority as long as the majority is right." Imagine a man in the minority believing the majority is right! There is no such thing. Every man in the minority is fully convinced the majority is wrong. Therefore I say, and I think there are no delegates here but will agree with me, that the men in the minority are bound to obey the majority, even when the majority is politically wrong. Every man in the minority is bound, I say, to support the majority, even when the majority is wrong. There is no second word about it. If you minimise the principle, if you give the men in the minority head-room to slip away, then you whip the ground from under the whole business. Every man is bound to obey the majority, even if flatly politically wrong, and every man who won't do his duty is not wanted, except to make himself scarce.

Now, I'll ask another question—Who are we?

A Delegate—The people.

Another Delegate—The majority.

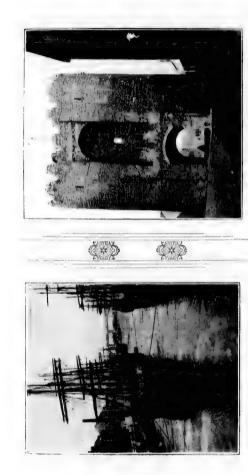
Father O'LEARV—Hear, hear. We are the assembled representatives, duly elected and sent here from all parts of Ireland, and from the ends of the earth. As we are the to-day, or sit here, we are the supreme court of the Irish nation. Now, the result of that fact is that we are now to lay down the law for majorities and minorities, and that we are bound to do it ourselves, and not to go delegating it to anybody. There is no question of delegation. What are you going to delegate? You are going to send three or four people from the different parties to approach certain people, and say, "Well you obey the majority?" and they will be delighted to say, "We will obey the majority when it is right," and so the delegates will come away with no other answer. Very well. Therefore there is no use delegating your power; keep it in your own hands; keep the bridle in your own hands. You are here assembled as the representatives of the Irish race. Do not let any man put his hand outside yours on the bridle. If you do you lose control of the seat, and leave the whole guidance with others. That is no Demosthenes eloquence. This is business. Do not mind eloquence; decide for yourselves, and keep the power in your own hands.

A Delegate—We are the power.

Father O'LEARY—There could be only one reason for delegating a question to a committee, and that was where details and mysterious calculations, which would take up too much time from a body of men, arise. In this question there was no such thing. It is the simplest question that ever was put before a body of men—viz., "Do your duty." The only real question to be deliberated upon by the delegates come together is not a question that regards personal feelings, animosities, and

pique. The whole Irish race is to be represented here in this hall; delegates have to come from the ends of the earth at great trouble and expense in order to rub against the grain. Another question for us, as practical, commonsense men, who have come here, is this: I said that we are the supreme court of the Irish nation; are we to enforce our decrees? The proposer of the amendment certainly made his proposal in a most honest spirit. I differ with Mr. O'Connor on one point in regard to that proposal. He said that the amendment was changed because that, unless it was changed, it would be trampled upon and rejected unanimously. Now, I don't believe that Father Flynn changed his resolution with that motive. I disagree with Mr. O'Connor on that point. I believe he changed his resolution merely for the purpose of promoting unanimity, and, secondly, that he had no motive whatever in proposing the resolution first or in altering it afterwards, or in insisting upon it now, except the motive of shaping some resolution out of these deliberations-the very thing we are anxious for; the very thing the people in the country are asking: Will the Convention do anything? Will it do any good? Very well. We have not, of course, a military force to carry out our decrees, but there are things that are stronger than a military force. We have at our disposal, at all events, the public opinion of the great majority of the country. Unfortunately, there is an element of dissension. There is a certain element it is not easy at first to grasp or realise. If I am a member of the minority, and happen to be a clever fellow, I can know how to manipulate a majority rule, and how to manipulate my friends and my influence in the country, to appeal to the crowd from the authority of the Convention. Very well. The practical question is, then: How is that to be opposed and remedied? I want to answer that question. Eloquence is a very fine thing, but one practical action is worth all the eloquence in the world. If you lay down the law that every man in the minority is bound to obey the majority, even if the majority is wrong, lay down that law. There is no person in this assembly that will have any objection to that. I think there is no person in this assembly who will allow a member of the minority in the Irish Party to question whether the majority are right or wrong. Of course, during the deliberations, when the party are met in their Committee Room, then every man is bound to stand up and give an account of the faith toat is in him. Every man is bound then to stand up and debate the point to the utmost extremity of his talent. But the moment the decision is given, and the majority goes against him, he is just as solemnly bound to bow his head and follow the majority, and do so in such a manner as that the country abroad will not get a single hint of anything that occurred within. He is bound to that solid obedience to the majority that he has to follow them when he thinks that they are wrong, and to do so without offering complaint before the country in such a manner as that he would injure the cause of his country by his

What is the support the majority is to get? In other countries that have their own Government, when the majority decides, the Executive Government of the country go forward armed to the teeth to support the majority. All the resources of the country are placed at the dis-



ST. LAWRENCE GATE, DROGHEDA.

THE QUAYS, DROGHEDA.

posal of the majority. They have all the wealth of the country. The very moment the Tories get into power in England all the millions of English taxation are at their disposal. They have the army and the navy, and better than the army and the navy, they have the money. Consequently, if you wish-I am giving my own opinion on this point: it is a mere personal expression, and one that I give out from myself alone-if you wish the Convention of the Irish race to have a result; if we wish to see that our majority will have its way, that the minority will have to submit; if we want to see that done, what is our duty? Our duty is to come out and support the majority, and the back of my hand to the minority. Let us ignore them altogether, and let them alone. We don't want them. We want our majority, and our majority are our representatives. And let me tell you, and I dare say you understand it as well as I do-we delegates have no masters here. The leader of our majority is our servant—the members of our majority are our servants. Those who refused to come here, and even insulted some of our worthy delegates-those men are our servants, and they refused to do the duty that we appointed for them. They are all our servants. If a servant refuses to do the duty we have appointed for him we dismiss him, and we get another man in his place. If he does his duty, and does it well, we pay him. I assure you, I believe the whole question of unity is in that question of the paying. Our friends from foreign countries came here, and over and over again I listened yesterday to the most affecting, and the most heart-rending, and the most piteous appeals to the people of this country to unite. I would, with all respect, suggest to our friends from across the seas one idea. There was a certain man at one time who said he would give a certain portion of the people what weather they liked. They came together, and said that they came to him for the weather. He said, "What sort of weather do you wish?" Some said wet, some said dry, some said cold, and some said hot, "Oh, gentlemen," said he, "agree, and then I will give you whatever you want." That one word that I have heard throughout the country and across the sea for the last two years has caused me the most bitter vexation. I have heard it said by our friends in foreign climes, "Unite, and we will send you everything." How in the world can we be expected to do that unless our friends from foreign climes will change the principle a little bit? You come here from the ends of the earth to try and establish union in this country. We came here on account of the respect we owe you. Therefore, I think there is not a delegate that will not agree with me when I ask you to go back to your own country and say that, "The majority are united, and it is our duty to support the majori y," and when asked about the minority to say, that they are nowhere. You come here in this glorious assembly, the most extraordinary gathering of Irishmen since the days of Cormac Mac Art. It is the most extraordinary assembly, as our most rev. chairman said, since Irishmen came together from all quarters of the country in the days of the great "Feis Teamhra." We tell our friends who come here that our duty is to support the majority, to give them the standing, and to give them the money. I will give them this guarantee, that it, as they once did, the hundreds and the thousands and the hundreds of thousands in cash come from Australia and America to the majority, you will find how

soon the minority will fall into line. To the gad an roughful an e-angean.*
That is the suggestion that I have to make, and it is a practical one. I will ask every delegate from Ireland to send that message in the most solemn manner away to America and Australia, and say, that the people are united, for we are practically united, and then when you have the money from those countries sent home to fill the war chest once again, then, believe me, you will have a party that will be respected. That is the suggestion I have to make instead of the amendment which has

been put before you.

Rev. D. F. MURNANE, Bermondsey-My lord, may I just say a few words of personal explanation, and also make an appeal to this very great gathering of our race? I am the representative of a branch-I am the founder of a branch-of the National League in Bermondsey, and therefore I am sure the esteemed president of that organisation will not feel that in the question I asked him a little while ago I had any personal feeling. But remember we have come here-we, the children of Erin, have come back now to try and retrieve in some way the grand traditions that our people have given to us. I confess that the speech of the most reverend chairman gives us wonderful courage and hope, for in it he spoke of unity, and there was not one word uttered by his lordship that gave the slightest offence to the tenderest susceptibilities of any section of the Irish people. May I try to follow up the line of thought of the delegate from Southampton. Remember that in every place where the Irish people have gathered together there you would have a little Ireland reproducing the traditions and the faith, and, I am sorry to say, the dissensions and divisions of the Irish people at home. May I say to you, personally, that I am in accord with the great majority of this meeting. Surely we have not come here to push the interest of any party before the cause of Ireland? Surely we are not going to make a desert and call it peace? We have come here to make a golden bridge, over which those who differ from us may approach us again and reunite with us. Therefore, whether the platform is to be drawn up by the committee, or whether this great Convention is to decide, will you remember that the future will be very different from the past? In the past it has been one section against another, but if it goes forth to the world that a programme was drawn up and adopted by this great gathering, surely you get full strength, and with the great power that will be behind us we can begin anew in a far stronger way. Surely we have come here to make peace with our divided fellow-countrymen, and not to cut off a still larger number. This Convention will strengthen the supporters of majority rule. It is difficult now to go into the question of why those dissensions have arisen, and as to the differences and jealousies that have existed. When I was coming to this Convention the words I used to the meeting gathered together to select a delegate was that I was coming here on the understanding that no names were to be mentioned, that no sections were to be referred to, and that the whole object was to bring about unity amongst our separated brethren. I told Parnellites and the men who followed Mr. Healy, that

^{*} The end of every Gospel is money.

if they came here they would have fair play. I said to them that this was a question for the Irish people to settle, and not the leaders. We are in favour of a policy of independent opposition to every party. I implore of you, therefore, not to be of a partisan character, but let us say "Ireland above all, and God save Ireland."

The CHAIRMAN—I think it will accord with the sense of the Convention that one speaker, and only one speaker more should address you for the motion; and although it is not in right order, yet I think, as it is his desire, I am sure the Convention will hear a few words in support of his amendment before I take a division. I call upon Father

Kennedy, late of Meelin.

Rev. M. B. KENNEDY, C.C., Blarney-Mylord and fellow-countrymen, I have endeavoured to follow closely the arguments advanced in support of the amendment moved by Father Flynn, and I fail to find any reason why he and those of his opinion should not leave to the decision of this grand Convention the settlement of the question. Are we not specially selected by the Irish people for the purpose of bringing about unity amongst our countrymen, and are we to delegate our powers to a committee to go out of this Convention, whose authority a section of the party has ignored. Upon the success of this Convention—• the most representative Convention of Irish Nationalists that ever assembled in Ireland-depends the future of Ireland for a generation. It is plain that for three or four years, owing to the noise and squabbling in this country, no progress whatever has been made; and if this Convention fails to bring Irishmen within one bond of brotherhood, and show them that it is the duty and the interest of all Irish Nationalists to strive together, we shall write ourselves down a fickle and brawling race, fit only for the lot of slavery and unworthy of the sacrifices made by our Irish friends abroad. Fellow-countrymen, if we were in earnest we should have no leisure for wrangling. Recrimination and squabbling over every petty point of policy are not the weapons of men who have an honest appreciation of the sacredness of the work on which they have entered. No Irishman who is worthy to have any share in this great National struggle will descend to clamour-to the petty squabbles of John Doe and Richard Roe. Well, if subjection and discipline and self-restraint must be the motto of those who elected us, and who, like us, have to fight in the ranks, surely it must work disastrously to the progress of our cause if we tolerate insubordination on the part of those who are our lieutenants and the trustees of the National interests in Parliament. Unless we compel them to yield a loyal acquiescence to the mandate of the ruling authority of the Irish Party, all our efforts to maintain an efficient representation at Westminster will be paralysed. Speaking from his Metropolitan See in this city, a great Archbishop laid it down as the duty of Irishmen of his day that they should bend all their efforts to marshal and organise the elective power of the country so as to ensure a right direction being given to every available vote. But it is no longer to organise and marshal our forces into one grand irresistible army the country is summoned. It is now with some -happily a small minority of our fellow-countrymen-it is now with them every chieftain for himself, every section for itself, every malcontent for his own grudge, and Ireland in such a clash of interests goes to the

Saxon, where she went before, through divided counsels and the want of a central authority capable of enforcing obedience and directing the

combative power and strength of the nation.

I say to you, fellow-countrymen, to quell dissension you must keep the story of the past in your hearts. Faction, and the spirit of faction, have robbed Ireland of many a glorious story in the past, and until that spirit has been exorcised from our midst it will continue to leave us at the mercy of those who can keep the future in their eye, and act up to the level of their destiny. In politics, as in the conduct of a great army, there is no such thing as strength without discipline and combined exertion. It is true we are twenty millions of people, counting our fellow-countrymen in America and elsewhere, but it is also true the if we were twenty millions ten times over our numerical tot would be politically powerless unless we proved our title to freedom by working unitedly and working untiringly for the noble object we have in view. Have we not one of the most powerful, one of the strongest countries on the earth to contend with, and here at home have we not a powerful and merciless class who traditionally, and for every selfish motive are opposed to us, and why squander any of our resources in bye-battles as · to who is the best man in the Irish Party, or in petty squabbles for the leadership of the Party, bye-battles and squabbles that can only make our cause odious, and, what is worse than odious, can make it contemptible? By the details of our wrongs, and the fierce denunciations of injustice and oppression, we have created a public opinion in favour of our claim to legislative independence; we have roused and enlisted on our side the feeling of America and Australia and of Liberal England; we have at our back in this struggle the respect and sympathy of all honest men in Europe. What do I say? Degraded and weakned as Ireland at present is by dissension, we stand now upon a vantage ground that even Mr. Parnell had not. Because we have demonstrated by the conclusive evidence of triumphant experience that a Home Rule Bill an par through the eye of the needle of the House of Commons. this juncture we allow dissension to split up the country camps as there are rival pretenders to the leadership, to not yet vacant, we shall be only trifling with the men of whose sympathies are with us, and we shall be abdicated or ever any claim to the generous aid that our exiled friends in America and Australia have been giving to us. Every evil that we have suffered, every misfe tune that we have suffered for centuries past, is due to one cause that at certain periods of national trouble and distraction, we cease to consider ourselves as a nation of united brothers, whose first duty it is to exert our common efforts, not in recrimination or in mutual destruction, but to oppose the common enemy. Look into your hearts, fellow-country-men, they were made for love and confiding friendship. What fatal power has changed their nature and converted them into the dwelling places of discord and distrust? Long ago it was the policy of the tyrant who divided that he might command. To-day it is the turbulence of a few who will not yield to the will of the majority. Well, let insubordination prevail, and to-morrow set in the chair whom it elects. How can he expect to have obedient or disciplined followers in the Party or in the country-he who raised himself into authority by deeds of disorder and



THOMAS LOUGHLIN. (See pp. 109, 270.)



REV. P. J. O'DONNELL (See pp. 111, 271.)



JOSEPH DEVLIN. (See pp. 113, 272.)



HON. JOHN COSTIGAN. (See pp. 116, 273.)

undiscipline? If a rebellious minority should at length succeed in attaining to control, must they who have been vanquished by the leader of the present strife cease to contend for the supremacy? Has he not marched to power through rapine and plunder-has he not set at naught the democratic principle on which alone he can hope to govern—the rule of the majority? Is this drama of dissension, then, to go on for ever? No, no, in the name of the beating and resolved hearts of millions of my countrymen, I say no, no. Ireland has had, like every other land, her times of distraction and degradation. But she is rising-has arisenfrom the nightmare of strife and dissension. There is hope on her brow; above all, there is resolve in her heart. And, ah! men of America and Australia, if you knew how much it nerves and ennobles the hearts of us here, and our countrymen, to find that we are not alone in the world, to know that high-souled freemen like the patriotic American priests and delegates who addressed us here to-day and yesterday pant for union a nongst all sections of Irish Nationalists, and pray for it, for us, you would not grudge the pains you take for poor old Ireland. I, as one Irish priest, say to you-"God bless you."

Mr. M. O'MEARA P.L.G., Dundalk-I do not wish to make a speech, but I take the liberty of making the suggestion that there should be a

limit to the time given to the speeches.

Rev. P. F. FLYNN, P.P.—My led and brother delegates, I am extremely grateful for your giving me an opportunity of replying to the very strong and exhausting criticisms that have been passed upon my amendment. In the first place, I will take the liberty of saying that nearly every speaker who spoke against the amendment spoke as if I wished to take the decision of this matter out of the hands of the Convention. Gentlemen, I had no such wish, and, gentlemen, my amendment on the face of it told that most distinctly, and I am surprised that any one of the ability of my friend, Mr. O'Connor, and other gentlemen who spoke, could misconceive my meaning when I said, that a committee could be appointed by yourselves who would report to you—(cries of "When?")-report to you for your own consideration and your own approval, and you would be the masters of the situation. I therefore have not withdrawn the decision of this matter from the Convention. I came here, gentlemen, to promote unity if I can. There are two ways of promoting unity. One is by cutting off, and the other is by amalgamation. I don't want to cut off if I can help it. To cut off should be our last and final decision. The men who would be cut off have done magnificent work for Ireland. But I would hope that when they would reconsider their position they would gladly join our ranks again and act together once more. I, gentlemen, left out a part of the resolution which I handed to his lordship yesterday, and I have done that in the interests of peace and in the interests of union. I have done it because I thought it formed a more universal and less contentious platform. I introduced no names, I introduced no parties, and our Parliamentary representatives well know how committees are to be formed, and how they are to work, and when they have to sit, and how long they have to sit, and with all their cleverness and with all their ability, I defy them to fix a time when any committee would sit, or should sit. Mr. O'Connor is familiar with Parliamentary work, and he knows well that if the principle of a Bill be admitted, that Bill can be corrected and modified in committee. I at ed you only to admit the principle of my amendment, and that you yourselves be your committee. I ask you to admit the principle of my amendment.

A Delegate—What is the principle?

Rev. P. F. FLYNN, P.P.—The principle is that we elect a certain number of delegates from this Convention who will draw up rules that will be approved of by the Convention. (Interruption and cries of "Withdraw.")

The CHAIRMAN-Kindly allow the speaker to proceed without inter-

ruption.

Rev. P. F. FLYNN, P.P.—I find here in letter M the following:—"That a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, be appointed to amend the constitution of the Irish National Federation." Now, you can see the names in letter M. This committee will be formed—it will sit how long?

A Delegate-It will be rejected.

The CHAIRMAN—I have got written notice from Mr. M'Govern, of Gortmore, Dunboy, that the resolution is withdrawn—absolutely withdrawn. I wish to say it is withdrawn in favour of Father Flynn's amendment.

Rev. P. F. FLYNN, P.P.—I do not think, gentlemen, I have anything else to say except this. It has been stated that I made a great mistake in the original resolution by admitting that there were three or four parties in Ireland. The principal speaker who criticised me reduced them to two, and of those two the larger he divided into sections. I say, and the country holds, and it is my opinion, that that is a distinction without a difference. I believe there are three perties in Ireland to-day with whom we are going to unite. I, at all events, have endeavoured to explain ry position. I am grateful to the gentlemen who spoke so favourably of myself and my character. I can say the same of them, and I am only sorry that I have not an opportunity of grasping the hands of every member of the sea-divided Gael, and uniting them once more in a common, compact body, to work for the regeneration of our common country.

The CHAIRMAN—I am going to take your voice upon the resolution and the amendment. The amendment goes first, and it just occurs to me to say, from all I have heard, that if it were a question of majority rule I have not heard a dissentient voice.

At this point Father FLYNN approached his lordship and spoke a few

words to him.

The CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, is there one here who has not heard of Father Flynn's services to Ireland? Out of love for unity and Ireland, and to promote harmony, he withdraws his amendment. (Loud and long continued cheering, the whole assembly rising to their feet and enthusiastically waving hats and handkerchiefs.)

Rev.P.F.FLYNN,P.P.—Gentlemen,Iammostgratefulforyourapplause, and I say, now that my action has met your approbation, I feel hope, and only wish it was in my power to do anything further for the restoration of unity; and I only hope that if there be any gentlemen who have the same feelings and ideas on this subject that I have, that if I could

be their leader in the present circumstances I would ask them to follow my humble example.

The CHAIRMAN-I will now put the resolution, which is as follows:

"Seeing that divisions amongst Irish Nationalist representatives paralyse, to a great extent, their power of serving Ireland, cast discredit on the country, and tend to alienate the support of the Irish race and to destroy their confidence in the efficacy of Parliamentary action, we record our firm conviction that it is of the first importance to Ireland that the Nationalist representatives in Parliament should be reunited into one Ireland that the Nationalist representatives in Parliament should be reunited into one party; and, in the spirit of the recent resolution of the Irish Party, we declare that—

In our earnest desire to accomplish that result, we are prepared to meet on fair and equal terms all Nationalists who will join in the attempt to reconstitute a united Home Rule Party, in which every supporter of the movement shall be cordially received and justly considered, regardless of all past differences and having regard only to his capacity to render service to the common cause. We are glad to observe in the composition of this Convention, and in the spirit shown throughout the country, marked evidence of a growing tendency to re-union; and we invite the Irish Nationalist Party to the series further steps as may to them seem calculated to promote the cause of reto take such further steps as may to them seem calculated to promote the cause of re-

The CHAIRMAN-All within the barrier in favour of the resolution will say "Aye." (Loud cries of "Aye.") All against the motion will say "No."

There being no response:

The CHAIRMAN—I declare the first resolution on the agenda paper in discussing which so much has been done to debate the other questions—unanimously carried by this great Convention of the race of Erin. Will you kindly cast your eye on the second resolution on the agenda paper as follows. The Hon, Edward Blake will speak to the resolution :-

"That we recognise as the essential element of the existence of an effective Irish Party the hearty co-operation and cheerful subordination of each individual in carrying out the party policy, as settled (after free discussion) by the judgment of the greater number. That while we are glad to observe that on grave questions there have been but few intelligible differences of opinion in the Irish Party, and none difficult of reconciliation by reasonable men willing to agree, we most strongly condemn those public disputes regarding minor questions of persons and tactics which have so gravely impaired the power of the Party. We solemnly call upon every man belonging to the Irish Party, in answer to the prayers of our people all the world over, to forget old differences, to sink personal feelings, and to act for the future as good comrades and fellow-soldiers in the spirit of this resolution and in the support of that party unity, on which the fate of Ireland so largely depends. We ask the Irish Party to take such steps, as may, in their judgment, be found necessary to the establishment of unity and discipline in their own ranks, in accordance with the resolutions of this Convention; and we assure them of our unfailing support in the execution of this essential task." Party the hearty co-operation and cheerful subordination of each individual in carrying

RD BLAKE, M.P.-Gentlemen of the Convention, the happy unanimity with which, after exhaustive debate, the first resolution has been carried encourages me in the hope that the second resolution may meet the same result. You have already resolved with reference to those Irish Nationalists who are divided from the great organisation which summoned this Convention, who are divided from the Party, and from the majority in the country of Irish Nationalists-you have already unanimously resolved to extend to them a cordial and generous and frank invitation to enter into and move in co-operation with you in the sacred National cause. Reunion, as you have determined, is of the greatest importance to the cause of Ireland. You, as men of common

sense, know that where a common battle is to be fought in one arena, the division of those who fight upon one side into two armies is useless, wasteful, and destructive. Furthermore, you recognize that the union in the nature of things must be a cordial union, a vital union, a real union, a union of will and of sincerity, which shall make one single organisation governing the movement of the forces, as all complex organisations must, for effective work, be governed by the voice and morale of one single, controlling, self-created power. A merely nominal union, a sham union, really discordant, full of rivalries, seeking causes of dissent instead of trying to find common ground of agreement, would be, and if it has existed, has been an intolerable situation. The sorest wounds that can be inflicted upon men are the wounds of their professing friends; the most dangerous blows in the fight are those which are struck in the flank and in the rear. Numbers are important to an army; therefore, we are for reunion. But morale is of far more benefit to an army than mere numbers, A general, it has been said, is worth forty or fifty thousand men. Why? Because his presence and spirit inspire confidence, and produce that morale and spirit which makes every man do tenfold work.

Now, it has been said that we are not doing anything practical. I say we are are doing business, and we are doing everything that is practicable. We began by the appeal which has been made to those who are effectively at this moment outside our ranks. We propose to deal in this second resolution, which I humbly support, with the principles of union—not merely of the union which we seek to consolidate with them, but also of that union which we wish to exist within our own ranks as they stand to-day, And, therefore, this resolution, in its first paragraph, describes that kind of union, which this Convention is asked to define, as the real essential union, which is to be its mandate to the people throughout the country:—

"That we recognise, as the essential element of the existence of an effective Irish Party, the hearty co-operation and cheerful subordination of each individual in carrying out the party policy as settled (after free discussion) by the judgment of the greater number."

I do not believe that there exists in the breast of a single member of this Convention a disposition to quarrel with the paragraph which I have just now read. Such a statement is true of all political parties. Our conflicts in this day, whether of peoples or of those who are representatives of peoples, are conflicts of opinion, conflicts of thought, conflicts of intellect, conflicts of emotion, where the arena is the field of thought. Men who are in general agreement as to great and capital objects towards which they seek to arrive, we must necessarily expect will combine for those capital objects while preserving a certain measure of independence of thought and action, with a view to influencing those with whom they co-operate upon all the minor details and tactics which are to be used in order to reach the attainment of their great ends. Intelligent men, thinking men, though combining in the capital object, will yet necessarily have various shades of opinion upon these minor matters; and in politics, above all things, questions of tactics, questions of expediency, as distinguished from questions of principles-questions of time, of method, of manner, of opportunity, of place, of degree-are the commonest questions with which we have to deal. All these various



From photo by]

CAHIRCIVEEN.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

elements have nothing to do with principle. They are very difficult, very complicated. Upon them men will differ in judgment, but if they do not agree to subordinate their opinion to the opinion of the greater number of their fellow-countrymen, there can be no successful party action, there can be no taking even the first step towards the common end. Free consultation there must be, wherever consultation can in the stress of battle be had; but after that consultation, in which every man is free to speak his own mind, a decision arrived at by the majority must be accepted by the others, not, indeed, violating their consciences, because if a capital occasion occurs in which a man believes that the whole future will be wrecked by the pursuit of that course, he need not vote

for it, but withdraw quietly from the party.

So much for the cases where consultation is possible. There are other cases in war, and there are other cases in the Parliamentary conflict, where previous consultation is impossible. Nobody who knows anything of politics but knows that nothing is more likely to happen than the unexpected in the course of a debate. On the floor of Parliament the general in command may find himself confronted day after day, hour after hour, with an absolutely new situation. It was my misfortunate at one time to lead a party, and I have often said to my friends-"Gentlemen, I will consult you whenever I can, and as often as I can, upon what I forecast to be the future, so that you should share my responsibility. Occasions may arise when no previous consultation is possible; then I will do my best according to my judgment, and then I expect you will stand by me as loyal men facing the enemy, sustaining me for the hour, whether in the flank or in the rear, and if upon the whole you think I am not worthy of your confidence, then later on court-martial me." While this is the rule in ordinary political parties, and a rule upon which I myself have acted--while I say this is the rule of ordinary political parties, and applies to ordinary political battles, does it not apply with tenfold more force in the case of Ireland? Ours is a case wholly exceptional. We are waging a war for a nation's cause, and our success depends upon our presenting to the world the spectacle of unanimity. At the best we are eighty-five men in the midst of a Parliament whose total membership is 670. We are few as we stand. Are we to be for ever divided? We may, perhaps, be weakened by the loss of a few votes. But divided counsels are infinitely more deleterious than the loss of a few votes. Our enemies rely to-day, as they relied in darker days, upon our discord. You recollect that speech of Lord Salisbury, in which, with brutal frankness, he told the English people not long ago that all they had to do was to be patient a little with the Irish trouble, for that ever since the days of Strongbow all Irish troubles settled themselves by the divisions that arose. I say to you, take counsel from your adversaries. Be wise, and learn a lesson, before it is too late, from those jibes and taunts that are directed at you. These jibes and taunts are applauded by the enemies of Ireland. It is always said to be only the great majority that fails, and dissenting individuals are encouraged. Why? Because discord is the best thing in order to render powerless the Irish race, and achieve a continuance of that domination that it is our duty to overthrow. Now, I don't like quotations, but I will give you two short quotations. They are from the speeches of two prominent men in the ranks of Irish politics,

made at the grand Convention held in this city in November, 1892, after the General Election of 1892, and they deal with the situation which had been created by the unhappy split, and solved, so far as it was possible to solve it, at the General Election. The first reference that I shall read is by a man now unhappily retired from the service of the Irish Party because of those dissensions which we deprecate——

A Voice-Sexton.

Mr. BLAKE-Mr. Sexton said this-

"A united Irish people, a united Irish Party, has been substantially restored. The grand principles, the indispensable principles of conduct and action, have been the subject of our struggle. It those principles had been suppressed the Irish cause was lost. What were they? Let me recall them to your minds, and I ask you to fix them on your minds for ever. The first was that the Irish cause, the cause of Irish liberty, and the fortunes of the Irish people, is supreme in its demand for allegiance, in its claim upon the services of every Irishman, and no other cause, and no other claim, shall ever be brought into rivalry or competition. The second principle was that the representatives of a people struggling to be free must firmly act together. They must act together or they will not win. The third principle is that in order that they should act together they must pledge themselves to discipline and obedience. The fourth and final principle in this code of fundamental and indispensable principles of the Irish cause is this—that the penalty for the breach of this solemn pledge is exclusion from public life. I say if these principles had been suppressed the Irish cause was lost. These principles were challenged; they were attacked and they were defended; they were defended and they were maintained; they have been maintained and carried to the front of our public life, and there they will remain for ever."

I am afraid that that promise has not been fulfilled, and owing to the disappointment of these expectations the eloquent speaker, whose words I have read, has for the time felt himself forced to quit the arena and cease to give the country those unexampled services that for many years he rendered to the cause which is dearer to him than life. Now, I want to read for you another extract or two from a speech delivered at the same Convention by another able and prominent member of the Irish Party, who has not withdrawn from public life, though, I regret to say, his presence does not adorn this platform.

"What, then," he asked, "should be the spirit in which we approach this occasion? I say in a spirit of reserve, in a spirit of recollection, in a spirit of due solemnity; and I say that if there were patriotic hearts in Ireland—I care not how extreme they be—to hail the coming of that day, they should rejoice and they should be willing to work in unison with their brethren, no matter what minor details have separated them. I decline the invitation to make current controversy in Ireland one long post-mortem examination, and if we fail by our dissensions, by our divisions, to achieve the purpose which we all assert, history will not engage in a discussion as to a nice apportionment of blame, but will curse the folly of the men who, in the last and the declining years of the great statesman whose life is dear and precious to Ireland, spent the time in odious recrimination. True it is," he said, speaking of those upon whose conduct he was animadverting—the separated minority, "true it is, they rate themselves very highly, and adopt noble maxims. Did you ever know in the history of heresy and schism that one was ever started without maintaining that it alone had the true deposit of faith? Did you ever know any creed to be promulgated in any country that there was not something to be said in lavour of? And accordingly I take my stand "—

as I take my stand this day-

"And accordingly I take my stand in regard to all the questions of the future, in regard to the Home Rule Bill or any other matter. I judge them by one fact—namely this, that they pledged themselves before conventions and the country to abide by the rule of the majority, and they have broken that rule. And why is it that they

stand aloof from their countrymen? Is it a question of principle, some questions about the land or the judiciary? I say it has become the merest personal question. There are certain men who would rather rule in hell than serve in heaven; who would rather the captain of the Forty Thieves than a private in the regular army. If these nine statesmen came back within the bosom of their party—for it is their party—and had to debate in the forum and councils of that party with Mr. Sexton, Mr. John Dillon, or Mr. O'Brien, on questions of land or judiciary or of veto, I think they would very soon find their level and their match.

I agree with those sentiments; but they are not applicable to Parnellites alone. They are not applicable to Parnellites chiefly. They are applicable to other men and more modern situations. I apply them today, and to-day they are as applicable as they were that day. Well, now I say that it is better that there should be 71 really united men according to the principles that are stated in this resolution, than 82 divided against themselves. And better that there should be 60 than 71 so divided. Now, turn to the second portion of the resolution which states—

"That while we are glad to observe that on grave questions there have been but few intelligible differences of opinion in the Irish party, and none difficult of reconciliation by reasonable men willing to agree, we most strongly condemn those public disputes regarding minor questions of persons and tacties which have so gravely impaired the power of the party."

You will observe that this resolution is framed, I am glad to observe, by Mr. Webb in the spirit which ought to actuate the spirit of this Convention; it deals with fundamental principles of action, and does not invite dispute as to the merits of individuals or minor questions. This paragraph deals with two great questions-first with fundamental questions upon which we have agreed on which I need say nothing more; and next with minor questions of dispute. Now, how are these questions to be treated to-day? Some of us would like, on such an unexampled occasion as this to vindicate ourselves from attacks on matters to which no doubt this resolution has reference. A great service was done for the Irish cause at great personal cost in the silence which has been observed in these conditions. It was believed that on the whole public disunion, scandal, and dissension, which is a fatal thing, should cease, and the effort was made, perhaps too long, to preserve silence under attack so as to minimise the atmosphere, the area, and the acuteness of dissension. Gentlemen, will you allow me to say a few words as to Irish public service in Parliament? It is a service of sacrifice. We agree to forego the great opportunities of honourable ambition in ordinary politics. We accept no office; we accept no honours; we touch no remuneration. We are debarred by our voluntary action, by the inexorable conditions of your service, from the assumption of those active duties which many men feel competent and desirous to discharge. Our only reward is, that under these conditions, sttting in an alien, and, until lately, an absolutely unsympathetic Parliament, we have agreed to act as we have acted, and have done the best we could for our country. Let me quote the words of Edmund Burke. Speaking to his electors, he said :-

"It is not to be imagined how much of service is lost, from spirits full of activity and full of energy, who are pressing, who are rushing forward to great and capital objects, when you oblige them to be continually looking back. While they are defending one service they defraud you of a hundred. Applaud us when we win, console us when we fall, cheer us when we recover, but let us pass on, for God's sake let us pass on."

He goes on to say-

"Gentlemen, we must not be peevish with those who serve the people, for none will serve us where there is a Court to serve. But those who are of a nice and jealous honour, they who think everything in comparison with that bonour to be dust and ashes, will not bear to have it soiled and impaired by those for whose sake they make a thousand sacrifices to preserve it immaculate and whole."

Now, if I rightly catch the spirit of this gathering, a spirit with which I highly sympathise, you are against entering into the squalid details of that past which you and I alike deplore. The chief accuser is not here. You have heard enough, and too much, for yourself and for the cause of Ireland in the Press and on the platform. I will not even go over the bend-roll of these accusations. I have ten or a dozen of the capital headings by which men in the forefront of the battle have been wounded -wounded, alas, through the sides of Ireland in days gone by, and which have culminated in a course of negativing all party discipline, those who called for the abolition of the committee voting against its abolition; those who called for the rise and progress of the Irish National Federation decrying it and trying to paralyse it; those who called for party meetings systematically refusing to attend and help the deliberations of the party; those who called and pressed for the National Convention refusing to attend it; every occasion seized upon the floor of Parliament to array men against the party action; to make rival proposals; to flout the rightful authority of the chair, and to paralyse anything like united and determined party progress. That situation is intolerable. Mr. Sexton, whose words I have quoted, has left the ranks of your service on account of it. Mr. Webb, who moved this resolution which I am supporting, has also left the ranks of the Irish Party in despair. Others of us have thought it fit to submit to the arbitration of the people the question and the situation before deciding upon our course; and this Convention is called in order that the voice of Ireland may speak-that it may decide, not as against men or in respect of particular accusations, but decide and affirm what are regarded as the fundamental principles of unity and subordination, in order that it may invoke a general amnesty, a general shake hands in concert and co-operation, and in order that it may give directions to the Parliamentary Party to do those things which may be needed to maintain unity and discipline in the ranks. The resolution, as I have said, enters not into the merits of the disputes. Nor do I. It is the publicity of them, the time and the place, and the method of which we complain. It is the insubordination which you are asked to condemn. Some change is needful, lest there be a collapse of the Irish Parliamentary Party. God forbid that there should be such a collapse. Then what change? The next paragraph of this resolution states the change for which we entertain, we are determined still to entertain a hope :-

"We solemnly call upon every man belonging to the Irish Party, in answer to the prayers of our people all the world over, to forget old differences, to sink personal feelings, and to act for the future as good comrades and fellow-soldiers in the spirit of this resolution, and in the support of that party unity on which the fate of Ireland so largely depends."

Our hearts are for peace, your hearts are for peace; the keynote of this Convention is peace—a real peace, a genuine peace, founded not on the



[W. Lawrence, Dublin.







vain protraction of disputes and differences about the past, but on forgetfulness of that painful past. Let us turn the bitter and shameful page, let us tear it and destroy it, and let us write a new page of unity and forgetfulness of the evil past, and go forward again as comrades to a glorious future. The lesson is obvious, the utility is plain. I implore and entreat that our offered hands may be accepted. In the course of this struggle some wounds, undeserved, may have been inflicted upon me. I freely forgive them all. I am sure that, with every desire to say no unnecessary word, or do any unnecessary act, in the heat and strain of this struggle. I may have been tempted into words which others may consider undeserved. I do not wait to be asked. I humbly beg pardon for any offence of that kind. This should be an occasion for the exhibition of peace, charity, and goodwill. Christians, although worshipping at other altars, we are united in worshipping the God of love, in acknowledging our trespasses and asking to be forgiven, as we forgive; and I am quite sure that the spirit in which this paragraph is framed must meet with the strongest support and sympathy from those ministers of the Gospel who adorn this hall by their presence. One word may I quote from a sweet singer of the land from which I come, though not the same division of North America, from the poet Whittier-

"Let us, then, united bury
All our idle feuds in dust,
And to future conflicts carry
Mutual faith and common trust;
Always he who most forgiveth
In his brother is most just."

God grant our prayers may prevail in this great Convention—this supreme organised effort of Irish nationality. But, gentlemen, if unhappily it should not be so, if our professions-genuine and sincere-are not accepted, if the platform which we have laid before you is not agreed to, shall this movement collapse? Shall we lay down our arms-shall we, of the majority, confess ourselves beaten? No, a thousand times no. Shall you abandon the ship, or shall you endeavour to reorganise the An intolerable situation-may it end by mutual agreement and good will, as, under the Providence of God, it ought to end. If not so; then how? By the same steps which have vindicated that principle of unity and discipline to which the first paragraph of the resolution gives adhesion. Such were the genuine conditions which settled the terms of the Irish National Parliamentary service, and which shall give Ireland an army which, though somewhat reduced in numbers, shall at all events be thoroughly efficient, acting upon those lines on which alone an army, small or large, can hope to achieve success at all. With this proposal the closing paragraph of this resolution deals. You are asked to instruct and to strengthen the hands of the Irish Party in a contingency which we cannot leave out of count. We trust and hope it may never arise, but if it does it must be dealt with.

"We ask the Irish Party to take such steps as may in their judgment be found necessary to the establishment of unity and discipline in their own ranks in accordance with the resolution of this Convention, and we assure them of our unfailing support in the execution of this essential task."

If this meeting so interpret the duty of the Irish Party to ourselves, and to the people for whom we speak, so instruct us. Give us the word. Yours is the duty of decision to-day. On your decision depends the

future of this phase at any rate, of the movement, and if this phase fails, well we know that another phase, less hopeful and less pleasing to the Irish people at large, will have, in all probability, to be suffered before a constitutional movement will again emerge. Gentlemen, I have not used words of anger or of passion. I have not sought to excite in your hearts emotions other than those of which my own heart is full. But when a grave and festering wound has to be dealt with, it is necessary to probe it and see where the mischief is, and I hope I have said no words stronger than were absolutely necessary in that connection. I have tried to set before you, in restrained tones, a plain and vital issue, and God grant that you

may be wisely guided in the judgment you shall give.

Mr. JOHN B. O'HIGGINS, Boston-My lords and fellow-delegates, I bear with me a message from the Hibernian Knights. It is a message of good will and of well done to honest John Dillon and the members of the Irish Party. I bear more, and I am sorry to say that it is a message that you won't like so well-a message to the rank-and-file of my fellowcountrymen. The members of my society say to you: " Have done with treason." They say that you have elected to a position in the British Parliament men who are traitors to Ireland. A month or two ago we held a small Convention, what we call a gathering of the clans, and we had a series of resolutions prepared by men who have made many sacrifices in support of Irish liberty and in defence of the Irish cause. One of those resolutions denounced the man, who I am sorry not to see here to-day, in order that I could convey it to him-Mr. John Redmond. as well as the people who have elected him to the position he occupies. The other resolution dealt with one who I own has done good service for the Irish cause, and whom I also expected to see here, and they desired me to say to him that though his work was good when it was well done, nevertheles, he acted like the cow that pitched over the bucket of milk, and deserved to be punished accordingly. Like your noble friend, Father Flynn, the proposer of that resolution, owing to its having been stated that Mr. Redmond and his followers and Mr. Healy and his followers would be at this Convention, withdrew it in favour of union and harmony, now we find-or at least I do find-that delegates who have come across the Atlantic Ocean to speak on behalf of unity are called something like dupes and nobodies, aye, and we are called tourists from Canada and America. Why don't these gentlemen take a little tour of probably only thirty or forty or fifty miles, and come in here to hear what the people of Ireland have to say. Aye, and they refer to the men who have held aloft the flag as the people who filled their pockets with gold and sold Irish seats. Well, that was enough to show me those persons would not be here. Immediately on landing at the Cove of Cork yesterday morning I happened to get hold of a little newspaper printed in the Rebel City, and I noticed the expression upon it, "This so-called Convention of the Irish Race," and I said to myself "The serpent is in Rebel Cork as well as in Dublin."

Well, gentlemen, there is just one other message I have to convey to the Convention, and it is this that we believe that you have been too easy with those recreant members of the Irish Party. We believe in exacting the most rigid discipline possible from the Irish members. And why? Because nearly a thousand years ago when a united Ireland

was once before created out of chaos, there is no other way to do it except by the heroic methods of Brian Boru, and those methods were that people who were not with him were against him, and were recognised accordingly, and I trust that the Irish Party, the National Party, will recognise that there is no other way to deal with those people than to consider them from this moment against them, and act accordingly. And, men of the constituencies, I hope that when they do act you will be at their shoulder to a man, and to a woman also. It has been said that if the Irish Party did their duty there would have been no disunion. Well, I believe in my heart and soul that the reason why the Irish Party did not do their duty is because the Irish people had not done their duty just as well. A worthy soggarth from the South delivered a very sensible address before you to-day, and I will say to you in the language of the Gael, wo become orgo.* I will further say that in America, in speaking of the few intelligible differences of opinion in the Irish Party, we can hardly find a difference at all. The only thing that we can find is this, that there are not offices like that occupied by as good a man as ever adorned it to go around amongst so called leaders. While you may call upon men belonging to the Irish Party, we over in America make a demand upon them; and here let me say that, while a number of patriotic and true-hearted Irishmen and descendants of Irishmen voiced the opinions of those whom they represent, and begged and appealed to you for union, the people whom I represent do not appeal to you; we demand of you to have union. And why? Some two years ago, at a Convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the city of Omaha, Nebraska, an effort was made to have a certain percentage of the large amount of money subscribed by the members sent to Ireland, and when we made an effort to have that motion carried it was found that, because of these little, miserable, and unintelligible differences amongst you people here, the Irish in America, representing that Order, refused absolutely to do anything because they thought it would only breed further dissension. That is the reason why we demand unityin order that the money which has formerly flown into the coffers of the organisation that is represented here to-day should again flow across the ocean, and so that, even if they could not strike a blow for the dear old Ireland with our hands, the money that we would send over would help to do it.

I have one other little message to convey. Looking over the faces of the men present at this Convention, I notice that the youth of Ireland are not as well represented as they might be. No, because they are to-day out on the Western plains beyond the Rockies, performing in the streets of Boston and Chicago and other places; and what are they doing? They are hoping against hope that some day they will be able to return back and strike a blow against the oppressors. That is one of the reasons why they are not here. They are trying to show to England in their own small way that until she does justice to Ireland's claims, and recognises Ireland as an independent part of the United Kingdom—if you can say so much without speaking treason—we will work and toil, and build a cordon of fire about her—such a fire as has

[&]quot; "He was right."

been built about her in South Africa and other portions of the globe where the hunted fugitive Irishman has found a resting place. I do not say that as a threat. I trust that they will recognise that we are a power, and not to be sneered at or scoffed at, and that it will hang over England as the sword of Damocles. I tell them also that the sooner they turn their foreign faction out of Ireland, and let the Irish people govern themselves, the better it would be for the peace of England and peace of her people. I believe the suggestion I made will be adopted, not only by the Irish Party, but by the Irish people, and if the Irish people are united with the Dillons, the Davitts, and the O'Briens, and the rest at the head of them, they are sure to succeed. I say—

"Knaves and traitors stand aside, Foe to Ireland, rag on bealoc."

The CHAIRMAN—I think, in one way or other, this second resolution has been debated at considerable length, and, unless there be any person present to speak against it, I shall put it from the Chair, but before doing so I think it right to say that two resolutions have been handed in from different quarters, which I consider to be germane to the second resolution, and it would be right, before putting the second resolution, to give the gentlemen interested an opportunity of speaking if they are so disposed.

Mr. DAVITT, M.P.—This resolution has been handed in by Mr. Michael Howley, of No. 7 Branch Irish National League in Keightley, on behalf of Daniel Smith and William Moran, Edinburgh, of the John Dillon and W. E. Gladstone Branches I.N.L. of Great Britain:—

"That, owing to the miscrable squabbles which have disgraced the Irish Parlia metary Parly during the past six years, the cause of Home Rule, in our opinion, has been scriously imperilled, the influence of the party considerably lessenced, and the hopes and aspirations of the best and truest of our people chilled and thwarted. Believing that the cardinal principle of unity should form the basis of the deliberations of this important gathering, we would respectfully urge when, after due consideration, its decisions have been arrived at, every effort should be made to impress on the various constituencies the absolute necessity of demanding the immediate resignation of any representative, no matter how marked his abilities or how great his services, who neglects or refuses to abide by majority rule.

The CHAIRMAN—If any of these gentlemen who handed in these resolutions wish now to speak, I ask them to come on to the platform and speak to the second resolution.

There being no response,

The CHAIRMAN put the second resolution.

There was a general shout of "Ayes," and one person said "No."

The CHAIRMAN—It is carried with one dissentient voice.

Several persons called out that it was in mistake the delegate said "No."

The CHAIRMAN—I have been informed that the voice saying "No" was in mistake, and I declare the resolution carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN—Now, unless the gentlemen interested in the resolutions read by Mr. Davitt come forward to propose them, I shall assume that they are satisfied with the instructions which are given in the resolution No. 2, and, more markedly still, by the voice of this Conven-



REV JAMES CLANCY, ASon pp. 120, 280.)



JOSEPH PATRICK RYAN (See pp. 124, 285,)



PATRION GALLAGHER. (See p. 126.)



WILLIAM LUNDON (See pp. 127, 295.)

tion, the Irish Party to take effective means to preserve thorough discipline in their ranks. Mr. John Dillon will now speak to the third resolution.

"That this Irish Race Convention re-asserts the immemorial claim of IRELAND A NATION. We declare that England is governing Ircland wrongfully, by coercion, and against the people's will; that each year proves afresh: I stutility of the attempt; that Irish evils mainly flow from alien, irresponsible, uninformed, and unsympathetic rule; and that no policy, whether of severe repression or of partial concession, can allay her rightful discontent, or will slacken her efforts to obtain a Legislature and an Executive making and administering laws for Ircland by Irishmen on Irish soil. We declare it the prime duty of the Irish Parliamentary Party to continue to maintain its absolute independence of English political parties, and thus to preserve its freedom to give an independent opposition or an independent support to any party, as may seem best in the interests of the National cause."

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P.-I have come here to-day to place myself unreservedly in the hands of this Convention. I came here prepared to answer charges if they had been made where they ought to be made-in the face of the people. I came here prepared promptly and without reserve to obey the mandate of this Convention, and if it had asked me to follow any other man in the sacred cause of Irish Nationality, without hesitation, and, I may add, without regret, I would have accepted this course, and would have shown that I could obey, that I could obey others, and that I knew what discipline meant. I have risen for the purpose of supporting the third of these resolutions, but, with the kind permission of this Convention, I think it might be fair to allow me to say a few brief words on the general questions which have been discussed, and, first of all, I am proud to see, and more rejoiced than I can tell you, that from the beginning of these proceedings, triumphantly successful as they have been, and fraught, as in my inmost heart I believe they are, with a rich promise for the future of Ireland, no single man from all this mighty gathering has attempted to question the supremacy of this C nvention. And that I think in itself is a matter of first and most essential importance No man has tisen up to question the supremacy of this Con ention, and when one looks back on the history of this Convention, and considers the methods by which it was summoned, I fail to understand how any honest man could question its right to speak for the people of Ireland. How was this Convention called into existence? The suggestion came this time from across the ocean, from a great man, none the less Irish because he occupies a lofty position in the Church of another nation, and who in his person typifies some of the greatest, the most historic, the most magnificent glories of our race, that they have carried the dominion, the faith of Ireland, to far foreign lands at the other side of the globe, ave, and have occupied lofty positions, higher than the position of princes, in that great and illustrious Church to which I am project to belongthough Christians of all denominations are welcome on this platform to-day, and in this hall. I say that this great man who first suggested this Convention typifies in his person also these glorious traditions of our race, that no matter where they are scattered, and no matter to what eminence they may be elevated, no matter to what Church they may belong, their hearts are still bound to Ireland and to her cause with an indissoluble bond which neither thousands of miles of ocean nor long years of separation can tear asunder.

And I confess I must ask the pardon of the delegates assembled for being drawn by that consideration into a very brief digression-I confess when, in the early days of the preparations for this Convention, objection was taken to our opening the doors of the halls and platforms of this gathering of the Irish race to the spokesmen and representatives of Ireland's scattered sons in America, in Australia, in South Africa, in New Zealand, and wherever that race has been scattered by persecution and ill-government, I was astounded, I may say I was horrified, that there could be found a man on the soil of Ireland who, with the unparalleled and immortal record of the fidelity of Ireland's scattered children, could object to invite them into the councils of the nation, and to give to them that voice which surely they are entitled to by the glorious part which they have borne in the past struggles of our people. And in that invitation, in spite of objection, was included not only the men represented by the delegates from America and Australia, but the portion of our race who, throughout the years of our struggles and agony, have borne a place in the vanguard of the battle, and who endured scorn, outrage, and boycotting, and were often driven from the workshops and mines of Great Britain because they would not deny the land of their birth-the land for which, if need were, they would spill their blood. We were told that we sought to out-number the voice of the children of Ireland by the foreign delegates and the delegates from England. The men who held such views must be content to shut out from the future struggles the help of those men who had sacrificed so much. The scroll which hangs in front of me is the best answer to those who say the children of the Gael in England have no right to a voice amongst us. We are assembled here to-day, and have delegates from every branch of the scattered Gael; and I put it, has there been any attempt to out-number the representatives of Ireland, or has anybody been denied voice or vote at this Convention?

Now, I come back to the question how this Convention was summoned. It was summoned, first of all, by resolution passed by the Irish Party, nearly unanimously, many months ago, affirming that a great Convention should be called; and later on, when the preparations were more advanced, the body of rules under which you meet were submitted to a duly convened meeting of the Irish Party, and at that meeting every member of the party ought to have been present, and the rules and constitution were unanimously agreed to and passed by the

Irish Party, and this resolution was adopted:-

"That we cordially invite Mr. John Redmond and his friends to co-operate with us in a common, carnest endeavour to make the coming Convention an effective means of satisfying the widespread yearning of the Irish race for thorough union."

By that resolution we invited the Parnellites to come in, not only to this Convention, but into the Organising Committee of this Convention, and to act with the Irish Party in securing that their party in the country was fairly represented in this gathering. They did not do so. We could not coerce them; but what we did was to act in such a manner as to bring the conviction to the mind of every man who takes an interest in Irish politics throughout the world that we did our best in the direction of anion. Well, not having succeeded in getting the co-operation of the

Parnellite party, we proceeded, with the approval of the Irish National Party and Irish National Organisation, in carrying out the arrangements for this Convention. And now I come to the point which I would commend to the common sense of the delegates present. I say that it does not lie in the mouth of any man who belongs to the Irish Parliamentary Forty, and who deliberately stays away from a meeting of the Party, to Jeclare that he is not bound by the act of this meeting. He can no longer truly say, if he pursues such a course, that he is acting with the party. And, therefore, I say that every member of the Irish Party without exception—they number seventy-one—is bound to recognise the constitution of this Convention as scaled with the approval of the whole party. And I was glad and proud to observe that in his powerful and eloquent speech, and he always speaks with power and eloquence-I have heard him under very difficult circumstances, and under a much more difficult circumstance than he occupied to-day-I allude to Father Flynn, of Waterford, for on more than one occasion in the streets of Waterford we stood side by side in very unpleasant circumstances. He always speaks powerfully, and I was glad to notice that at the outset of his speech he recognised in the fullest way the supremacy of this Convention, and the duty of every Irish Nationalist to abide by its decisions.

Well, I am sorry to miss from the floor of this Convention some men who ought, and I trust will, abide by its decision. If Father Flynn and other men in this hall recognise the supremacy of this Convention, and that it is in reality the voice of Ireland, has that been the attitude of all the members of the Irish Party? I am sorry to say it has not been that attitude, I regret that the foreign delegates and many other members of this Convention have been obliged to see this great assembly denounced as a hole-and-corner meeting—as a packed Convention, and as a meeting which was worthy of no respect and no consideration whatever. Now, I venture to say, regarding the proceedings of yesterday and to-day, that there will be found very few Nationalists in Ireland who will stick to that view of this Convention; and if they do pretend to adhere to it I think they will find that the voice of Ireland has been heard here to-day, and that their view will find little support in Ireland. Now, in this connection I desire to say that I listened with great interest and great pleasure to the speech delivered by, I think, Father Murnane, who represents one of the London branches of the League. He advocated-and I could recognise in the tone of his voice an honest and an earnest desire—to bring about union in the Irish Party; and he spoke with an eloquence - characteristic of many Irish priests. He might remember, and I trust he will remember, that it was owing to the majority of the Irish Party and our action that he got leave to speak in this hall. For to men like him an effort was made to deny them the liberty of this platform, and shut their mouths, on the ground that they were strangers and outsiders, and had no right to take part in this Convention. Well, my lord, this Convention is assembled-I challenge any man who has an honest mind, who takes up the constitution under which it has assembled, to say that there was ever called together in Ireland a freer or more open Convention, and I say we have been listening for many long and weary years to charges and complaints of

the most complicated and ever-changing character. There is not a man, there is not a colleague who sits around me, who has not been denounced and abused by those who ought to be his friends. For my part I do not care how much any man may abuse me so long as he does not scandalize Ireland in the process. A certain section of the Press in this country is teeming with allegations and charges. My lord, I say that here to-day, before the people of Ireland, those charges should not have been made, or the authors of them should have been on this platform to-day, or ought to be for ever silent; and I appeal to every delegate in this room, no matter what his views may be, whether he believes that I am right, whether he agrees with mypolicy or not, I appeal to him for the honour of Ireland, and for the sake of the public life of this country, to set his foot resolutely and strongly on a continuation of these scandalous disputes.

My lord, it has been said that personality and personal ambition stand in the way of the advancement of Ireland's cause. I stated before this Convention assembled that if it should be found, either now or at any future period, that the Irish National members of Parliamentand I include now, for the purpose of this statement, all members returned to support the Home Rule cause-would assemble together and say, We will not follow Mr. Dillon, he has taken too active a part in previous bitter disputes—we will not follow this man or that man, but will select another man who has not taken part in this dispute, I say joyfully, and with a sense of immense relief, I would place my resignation in the hands of these men, and invite them, without regard to personal feelings, without regard to personality, and in the name of God and their country, to unite again, no matter who was made their leader. Some men seem to think that the position of being chairman of the Irish Party is very cheerful, under present circumstances even, and so attractive a position that a general struggle and scramble for it have been going on, resulting in I myself out-distancing my opponents. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I assure you that, though after a brief experience, it is not all pleasure; and I do say this, that I cannot understand how any man who has a sense of fairness could attribute, under present circumstances, to any individual an inordinate ambition to get into the position, unless it be that he argues from the condition of his own mind. But I repeat this offer from this platform to-day. Let the other men, whose names have been shibboleths of faction, meet me on this issue. Let the Parnellites and let the Healyites, if such there be-I am not aware that any member of the Irish Party is prepared to go before his constituents and declare himself a Healyite—let the Parnellites and let the Healyites, if there be any such—as Father Flynn suggested there are three parties in Ireland-let them assemble at any time during the autumn in Dublin and say, "Stand aside, Dillon; stand aside, Redmond; stand aside, Healy; and we will unite under another man," then I say I am their man, and I shall be the first to sign a pledge binding me to loyally follow that united party.

The fact of it is that, in dealing with these matters, we have been, to a certain extent, beating the air—fighting with phantoms. Charges and allegations have been made, and when you close with them to disprove them, like the figure in the ancient fable, they dissolve in vapour and cloud, and fresh forms arise before you on the path. When these



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[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

matters are all analysed they come down to questions of personalties; and I say it would have been an everlasting shame to Ireland-a shame from which this assembly happily entirely saved the country—it would be an eternal shame if personal questions were allowed to tear asunder the national forces when they were face to face with the implacable enemies of their race. Let me say a word on the question of party discipline and union. What I would implore of this Conventionthough indeed it is not necessary to make any appeal to them, because they have by their action shown how keen an apprehension they have of the true principles on which a party must be founded-what I would implore of them is this. We have in the complexities of contention and quarrels to some extent, lost sight of those vital principles on which all parties throughout the world are founded and governed. If you break up and destroy the unity and discipline of that party you can have no progress. You have heard from a man who can speak with the authority of experience, as leading a great party himself (the Hon. Edward Blake), those principles which must rule and do rule all parties. If those principles as laid down by him apply to all parties, I say that they apply with a thousandfold force to the small body on whose fidelity and on whose unity in the very heart of the camp of the enemy the cause of Ireland rests. If it is the duty of Canadian or American parties to insist on unity and discipline, it is clear it is ten times more the duty of the little army of Ireland to insist upon a far more stringent discipline. We know that in the great parties of England, America and Canada there are many ways of holding men together which do not exist with us-many ways of influencing men who are inclined to go outside the party lines; and in those countries the fate of a nation does not depend upon the discipline of any one party. In England or Canada, and if the party is negligent or disunited the punishment comes surely and swiftly, and it comes in the shape of the other party, who drive them out and come into power in their place. But in the case of Ireland the situation is totally different. We have no other party to take our places. We have not got command of the Government of our country, and our differences and our disorganisations and our personal disputes are visited on the miserable country which has sent us to fight its battle. We do not make way for another party. No, but we open the gates to the enemies of Ireland, and the consequences of our divisions are written in the tears and the blood of our people, and the endless prolongation of her sufferings. Therefore, I say in the name of God and of Ireland, never forget to maintain untouched and untampered with the essential principles, which are the foundation upon which the Irish Party rests. I would ask what are those principles? They are embodied in the pledge, but not sufficiently clearly embodied to defeat the ingenuity of men who are very able and very ingenious, and who desire to escape. But the pledge binds men not only to sit and vote, but to act with the Irish Party; and I say deliberately that if it were to be considered free to men to defy on the platform and in the Press, as well as in the House of Commons, the deliberate judgment of the majority of the party, then I say the pledge becomes a mockery, a humbug, and a delusion, and you will very soon have not only three parties. but at least a dozen parties, each led by a leader of its own.

Therefore, what I claim to be the basis on which all party discipline and party unity and effectiveness must be placed is, that there should be given a loyal and earnest support by every member of the Party to the policy of the Party as a whole, and that the support should not stop even inside the House of Commons, but should be extended throughout the The illustrious Bishop of Meath some time ago in a conversation that he had with the late Mr. Parnell asked--" How did you keep the Irish Party together?" He replied-"I kept it together by enforcing the rule of the majority. I sometimes thought the majority was wrong, but the great principle was that we should act together." It has been said by one priest here to-day in a most eloquent speech that the minority should go with the majority whether the majority was right or wrong. Well, it is possible to conceive a case where a member of a minority could not see his way to do that. But he has a remedy. If his conscience will not allow him to go with the majority, I say, for the sake of his country, he should stand aside.

Now let me say a word or two as to the future. I think myself, and I have long thought it, that too much has been said in a despairing tone as to the present position of Ireland. Really to hear some people talking you would suppose that the whole history of Ireland since the Union was the history of a united and unbroken party until the year 1890. What are the facts of the case? There never was a united party in Ireland until 1885, and it is most instructive to anyone who has to deal with the present situation in Ireland to look back for a moment to the history of the formation of the united party of 1885. Here is an extract from apaper which is not a great friend of Ireland, but it is an interesting extract, and very much what is to be read in the same paper to-day—the London Times. This article was written in the Times of the 30th March, 1880, commenting on the general election that was then taking place. And during that election, as many men around me on this platform and in the body of the hall to-day will

remember, Ireland was torn asunder by differences, Nationalist being pitted against Nationalist in many of the constituencies. And here is

what the Times said :-

"It is not in Wexford county alone that Mr. Parnell's nominees are found unacceptable. He can scarcely fail to discover that no true, durable unity can exist among Home Rulers. They may agree to make themselves as disagreeable as they can be to l'arliament, and may with one accord join in impeding public business at Westminster. But nothing can shape into a homogenous party an unprecedented piece of political mosaic. Any trivial incident may break up and resolve into their original elements the motley collection of intimidated or coerced Liberals, Nationalists Federalists, earnest lovers of Catholicism, and haters of the priesthood, true sons of Ireland and men who have no real connection with it. The compact lasts just as long as no strain is put upon it. But only let Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar endeavour to carry some particular point which they have at heart, and the world is pretty sure to see that the Home Rule Party is but a mob of politicians who bear no great love towards each other."

Now that was the way in which Ireland presented itself to England in the year 1880. What occurred? An election took place, and on 27th April the Irish Party met—that is to say, all who had been returned to support Home Rule, and at that meeting a question arose as to who should be the chairman of the new Irish Party that had been returned.

Mr. Parnell was proposed as chairman, and Mr. Shaw was proposed against him. The party divided, and Mr. Parnell was carried to the chair by 23 votes to 18—simply a majority of 5. What occurred then? a short time the minority quitted the majority, and finally crossed the floor, and for four years the Irish Party was split, 32, I think, was the number of the Parnellite Party, and a considerable number of Irish Home Rule members opposed them from the opposite side of the house. Within the ranks of the Parnellite Party there were men who kicked over the traces, men of ability and position who objected to party discipline, and they finally disappeared out of Irish public life in 1885; so that during these years there was not unity, there was division; but there was a fight for unity, and what saved Ireland was this, that the principles and practice of a united party were never surrendered, but were held up before the people, and when at last an appeal was made after four or five years to the constituencies of the country then there was a united party, because the constituencies took the matter into their own hands, and they approved of the pledge and the whole machinery by which since that day the Irish Party has been governed. What I would say is this, that so long as those principles are stood by, and, above all, so long as here, in the face of this mighty assembly, they can be asserted and unanimously approved, it is nonsense to talk about despairing of the future of the Irish cause. Leaders may come and leaders may go. You change the personnel of your leaders and the personnel of your party, secession may occur, individuals may leave you, but so long as the great principle of unity is held up and insisted upon by the people, and so long as a united party is held to be essential to the effective constitutional fight for Ireland's liberties, then so long, I believe, Ireland will rally round that standard.

For my part, my position in this matter is exceedingly simple and exceedingly easy. My principles are known throughout the country; I am for a disciplined party. I am for a united party, and I am for maintaining that unity at any cost. I am in the hands of this Convention; I am in the hands of the country, and ultimately in the hands of the Irish Parliamentary parties—Parnellite and Nationalist—if they will assemble and agree to follow any other man. My personality will never stand for a single hour, nor for a single moment, in the path of Irish freedom, nor will it be allowed to stand for a single moment to obstruct the reunion of Ireland. So long as I have a mandate from the people I will fight for unity against

every man who assails it.

That is a proposition which I believe will recommend itself to this great Convention. I do not believe that there will be any difference of

[&]quot;It is the prime duty of the Irish Parliamentary Party to continue to maintain its absolute independence of English political parties, and thus to preserve its freedom to give an independent opposition or independent support to any party as may seem best in the interests of the National cause."

opinion in regard to it. We hold that we have always maintained the same independence which was the doctrine and the creed of our party before 1890, but what I want to lay before you, and before the country is this. We do not seek to rake over again the ashes of old controversies, we have faced the country and this Convention with this fresh pledge that we recognise it to be the duty of every Irish Nationalist to maintain an absolute independence of English political parties. And if that be asked in the name of union, then in God's name we give it to the world as the first article of our creed and the first rule of our life in Parliament. But let me say this word in defence of the party with which I am connected. We have been charged, and from more than one quarter, with truckling to English parties. I don't believe that we have ever laid ourselves open to that charge, but it has been made, and I saw and read with astonishment a statement made in this city not a fortnight ago, that the object of my life was to make the National Party the tail of the English Liberal Party.

Now let me point out to you one fact. Some time ago one of the multitudinous charges made against us was this—that so subservient were we to the English Liberals that, when the cause of Catholic education in England was brought up by the Tories, we would turn our backs on the Catholic schools of England and would support the Liberals,

A Voice-You never did.

That charge was made. It was made in various places throughout Ireland-I need not recapitulate them, they will be in the minds of many men in this Convention-and it was made by members of our own party. Well, the time came for a decision, and I will say this, that there never was an issue on which the Liberals of England were more anxious and more eager to get the support of the Irish Party. It appeared, from one point of view, rather a hard thing for the Irish Party, seeing that the Liberals had lately passed a Home Rule Bill, and as they contend-I won't enter in o an argument on the question-but, as they contend, they had been defeated at the polls because they were Home Rulers, that on the very first great question in which the Liberals were interested we should turn round on them, and, as they put it, "overwhelm them with an avalanche of a majority." And I was appealed to personally. I suppose I received two or three hundred letters from the Radical leaders throughout England, imploring of me at least to ask our party to withdraw from the House of Commons, and, as the cause of the Catholic schools was not in danger, not to humiliate the Liberals by increasing the majority to an overwhelming extent, and the Liberals in Parliament who had fought our battle appealed to me. Under these circumstances the Irish Party met, and would it be believed that the men who had charged myself and the men who work with me before Irish audiences with being prepared to betray the cause of the Catholics of England never took the trouble to cross the Channel and attend the meeting of the Irish Party when this great question was decided? And when this question was decided, what was the action of the Irish Party? The men who were concerned about the fate of the Irish Catholics and the possible action of the Irish Party in voting with the Liberals were not there, but we who had been told, and are now told, that we are the tail of the Liberal Party, we voted against the men who had offered us Home



From photo by] 61

GARINISH ISLAND, PARENASHLA, CO. KERRT.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

Rule, and we showed to the world by the greatest proof that any party could give that we stand as independent of all British parties on the floor of the House of Commons, at least as independent as any party that ever went before us. Yes, we voted independently, and we received the united thanks of the Catholic Bishops of England, and I hope, and I have some reason to hope, that when Home Rule comes up again the Catholic Bishops of England who voted against Home Rule at the last election will not forget our action.

And now I challenge any man to come again before an Irish audience and say that I was trying to make the Irish Party a tail of the Liberal Party. I faced the Liberal Party when the men who make these charges skulked in Ireland. I stand here surrounded by the men who, by their services and record, are entitled to speak, and in the name of the honour of their country and of her most sacred interests, in the name of the Christian faith they profess, and of the charity which they are bound to observe, I ask those who make these charges to come forward now, when they have a full and attentive audience, to make their complaints and state their charges, and if they have not done so, I ask them to be silent for ever, and to allow Ireland to go on undistracted by these petty, contemptible, horrible, and deadly disputes, which have dragged our sacred cause in the mire before the people of the world, and which I trust and hope it will be the proud privilege of this so-called "hole-and-corner" and "bogus" Convention to bury in an oblivion which no man will ever break.

Mr. DAVITT, M.P.—The Convention will adjourn until to-morrow, at eleven o'clock. We have received a number of messages from Queensland, Newfoundland, and other places, which I shall hand to the Press.

The Convention adjourned at four o'clock.

Letters handed to the Press :-

St. John's, Newfoundland, 17th August, 1896.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH NATIONAL CONVENTION.

My Lord,—On behalf of the people of Newfoundland, we send to you through our delegates a heartfelt greeting, a warm word of sympathy and encouragement in the glorious work you have undertaken—namely, the gathering together of the various stre-ms of National life in Ireland into a mighty and irresistible torrent of love and patriotism, which shall sweep before it all obstacles, and blend every drop of heart's blood that wells up in the bosoms of her sons into one great ocean of National unity and National strength. The delegates to your Convention bring with them to the hallowed shores of Ireland the mandate of the Irish people from the furthest corners of the carth. Wherever the sun shines upon the home of a child of the Irish race, from the frozen regions of the North to the burning sands of the tropics, from the distant lands of the East to the golden shores of the Pacific, from every clime, and every land, there goes forth a cry—a heartrending cry, an agonising cry, at the painful prospect of the unreasoning and patricidal disunion which prevails among the ranks of those who are in the van of the fight for the liberty and prosperity of our motherland. And you, gentlemen delegates, are sent by us with a mission of immense meaning. It is a divine mission in a sense, for it is to echo the voice of a great people crying out for justice and peace and unity, and as such, it is the voice of God himself. We send you not to entreat, or to sue for, but to command, a truce to these divisions and disminions, and a brotherly embrace and hand-shake of love and goodfellowship. The

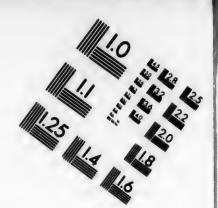
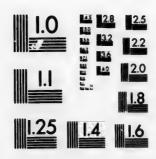


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leaders of the National cause in Ireland are but the trustees of the Irish people, and they are accountable not only to the small remnant, who, surviving persecution, famine and emigration, still dwell within the shores of Ireland herself, but to the millions of her race who people the distant countries of the earth, and to whom every green sod and every ivy-clad ruin of the dear old land, are sacred and revered pledges, cherished in the deepest memories of their hearts' and guarded with a jealous anxiety against

encroachment or desecration.

encroachment or desceration.

In this great Convention of the Irish people it is meet that Newhoundland should have a place, yea, and a leading place. Looking back over the annals of our history we see many a page lit up with the glorious record of her sympathy with Ireland in her times of trouble, and of practical aid in her times of want and hardship. We claim the proud vaunt of being the "Ireland of the West," the earliest colony of Irish emigrants in the western world. The nearest point of America to the old land. We stretch out our arms a thousand miles into the Atlantic ocean to grasp in the warm clasp of fellowship and welcome, the hand of our motherland, to bid her have courage, and rise trimphant from her bondque and become a nation among the countries of and rise triumphant from her bondage and become a nation among the countries of the world. We pray that God may bless this supreme effort for union, and that the setting sun of the nineteenth century may cast its golden splendoar upon a prosperous, peaceful, and self-gover-ing Ireland.

On behalf of the people of Newfoundland,

M. F. HOWLEY, Bishop of St. John's, Chairman. P. J. DOYLE, Secretary.

Greymouth, New Zealand, 28th July, 1896.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE IRISH NATIONAL CONVENTION, DUBLIN.

Sir,-The Irishmen of the west coast of the South Island of New Zealand regret their inability to send a delegate to your Convention. They, however, as requested, send the following letter to express their views on the object of the Convention. Irish-people can live in any peace and prosperity in the land of their birth. We, the children of Erin, have been driven into exile, and nearly every foreign land gives a refuge to many of us who, if our civil affairs at home were properly managed, would have been spared the many miseries resulting from expatriation. But we are aware have been sparted the many inseries resulting from expartation. But we are that the future welfare of our native land, to a great extent at least, lies in the hands of her elected representatives. And what a power for good for Ireland have they not proved to be when they presented a united front in the British Parliament. That union secured for the Irish Parliamentary Party the respect and admiration of all the lovers of our country throughout the world. It obtained for it many measures of lovers of our country throughout the wordt. It bought joy and hope for the future to the sea-divided Gael; and on account of it the children of Erin in all parts of the world, together with their many friends, cheerfully opened their hearts and purse-strings and contributed most generously to aid the good cause at home.

But now we regret to see that the demon of discord has managed to edge in

between, and created disunion amongst the elected representatives of our native land, upon whom rested our highest hopes. Every mail scatters broadcast to the ends of the earth the fullest account of the bitter attacks and mutual recriminations made by the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party on each other. At this we, in foreign lands, members of the Irish Parltamentary Party on each other. At this we, in foreign lands, hang our heads for shame and become very much disheartened. No men should know better, from bitter experience, than the Irish Parliamentary Party that "a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand." The history of our nation and our people points out more clearly than that of any other nation that nearly all our national misfortunes have arisen from division, disunity, and divided counsels. Cannot past experience bring with it a profitable lesson for the future? We hope so, indeed. Shall division and divided counsels continue to prevail in the ranks of the Parliamentary representatives, and cause them, however well-intentioned and individually patriotic, to do most

effectively by their modus agendi what is most pleasing to the very bitterest enemies of our native land?

Well, we hope that the happiest results will accrue from the Convention now Well, we hope that the happiest results will accrue from the Convention now sessembled, and we shall ever look upon those as the enemy of our country and race who shall in any way mar the object for which the meeting was called. And as we believe that Home Rule is the key to the solution of all the Irish difficulties, it is the ardent hope of the Irishmen of Westland, New Zealand, many of whom are now in declining years, and who have always supported the cause of Ireland in her legitimate struggles for the amelioration of her condition, that Providence may cement in rolid unity the members of the Irish Parliamentry Party, that so they may be able to obtain by their united efforts what the Irish race so much desire for their native land and what divided counsels can never attain. And may He who controls the hearts and councils of men guide you in your deliberations to so laudable an i-sue. of men guide you in your deliberations to so laudable an i-sue.

Signed on behalf of

THE IRISHMEN OF THE WEST COAST OF THE SOUTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND.

Croydon, N. Queensland, July 10th, 1896.

To JOHN DILLON, Esq., M.P., Chairman Irish National Party.

Dear Sir,—The Home Rulers of Croydon, wishing to be represented at the Convention of the Irish Race to be held in September next, have this day appointed the Rev. V. R. Landy, O.S.A., as our delegate. He will present duly accredited creentials signed by the Mayor, Mr. Tarbart, and other influential gentlemen. With an earnest prayer that the labours of the Convention will result in a complete union of the whole of the Irish van the whole of the Irish race,

JAMES HALL.

Devon Chambers, Hunter and O'Connell Streets, Sydney, 28th July, 1896.

JOHN DILLON, Esq., M.P.

My Dear Dillon,—I regret that it has not been found feasible to send a delegate to represent New South Wales at the forthcoming Pan-Celtic Convention, to be held in Dublin on the 1st of September; but, although New South Wales will not be represented by a delegate, the interest which the friends of the cause take in everything that concerns the welfare of the movement continues in unabated strength. Some of the effects of dissension in the ranks of the Nationalist representatives of Ireland in the Ritish Hence of Common in regret to the processor of the processor. some of the enects of dissension in the raints of the Nationalus representatives of Ireland in the British House of Commons in regard to the progress of the movement are too obvious and deplorable to need mention. If the people of Ireland could only realise fully the effect of this dissension upon the friends of the Irish cause who reside trained they the effect of this dissension upon the friends of the Irish cause who reside out of Ireland, I feel certain that the people would insist upon their representatives once again presenting a solid, united front to the opponents of Home Rule in the British Parliament. It is simply impossible for those who watch the progress of the movement from a distance to understand by what process of reasoning any friend of the Irish National cause can tolerate the existence of rival sections in a National Party which has but one object—the restoration to Ireland of the right. Party which has but one object-the restoration to Ireland of her right to Parlia-

Party which has but one object—the restorted to the mentary government, mentary government, The resolutions which were carried at the public meeting in the Guildhall, Sydney, last evening (and which are forwarded herewith), were carried with the enthusiasm that has always characterised Irish Australians in regard to the National cause.

The proceedings at the forthcoming Convention must attract the attention of all well-wishers, not only of Ireland, but of the British Empire, as no sentiment exists more strongly than that the concession to Ireland of free Parliamentary institutions would be the most effective means of not only restoring prosperity and happiness to the people of Ireland, but of strengthening the Empire itself. I can assure you that

in no part of the world will the proceedings at your Convention be watched with greater interest than in New South Wales. There is but one aentiment expressed in regard to the Convention, and that is, that its labours may result in once more placing the Irish National question in the van of British Political questions, and that the long deferred hope of the Irish people may soon be realized with the attainment of a measure of freedom equal to that enjoyed by the British Colonies.

Yours faithfully,

FRANK B. FREEHILL.

St. Patrick's Society, Cornwall, Ontario, 14th August, 1896.

Resolution moved by Mr. M. M. Mulhern, seconded by Mr. J. F. O'Neill, passed unimously, and desired to be conveyed to the Irish Race Convention through Hon. John Costigan:—

"Whereas, a call has been issued for a Convention of Irishmen, to be held in the city of Dublin on the 1st of September, for the purpose of uniting the Irish people the world over in the cause of Home Rule for Ireland. We, the members of the St. Patrick's Society of Cornwall, being desirous of placing before the assembled delegates our firm belief in the principle of Home Rule, and believing that the united action of Irishmen, and those of Irish descent, at home and abroad, is necessary to achieve the end for which the Convention is called, we heartily endorse any action taken. Having watched with feelings of pride the rise and progress of the Home Rule Party under thewise and patriotic leadership of the late Charles Stewart Parnell, and noted the success attending their efforts, and firmly believing that the cause of that success was mainly due to the firm and united feeling that existed in the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party, ably assisted by the Irish people, both at home and abroad, therefore, it is with feelings of regret and humiliation that we notice that divisions have arisen since the death of the late lamented Irish leader, and we hail with joy the summons issued for a Convention of the Irish Race throughout the world to formulate a policy whereby the forces of the Home Rule Party can be reunited, and the dissensions that exist be healed; and we hereby tender our sincere support and influence, both morally and financially, to further the aims of the Convention."

E. O'CALLAGHAN, President. F. G. O'HAGAN, Secretary.

Message to the Convention from the Irish Home Rulers of Southern Tasmania, assembled in meeting at Hobart, requesting Kev. T. M. O'Callaghan to represent them; moved by Rev. J. O'Mahony, seconded by Mr. E. Mulcahy, M.H.A., and supported by Rev. P. O'Reilly:—

"That this meeting views with sorrow the continued dissension in the ranks of the Irish Nationalist Party. That, though we consider it no part of our duty to dictate to our friends at home the proper course to be followed, in order that this dissension may be healed, yet, living as we do in a democratic community, we desire to impress upon our delegate, and through him urge upon the Convention that, in our opinion, the majority should rule; that this is the only way in which the existing breach will be closed, and dissension will in the future be avoided."

Telegram to John Dillon, M.P., Dublin :-

"Success Convention; Irishmen Rockhampton urgently recommend unity—Kelly, Gillespie, Wynne."

P. O. Box 419, Pretoria, S.A.R., 9th August, 1896.

JAS. F. X. O'BRIEN, Esq., General Secretary, Irish National Convention, Westminster, S.W., London.

Dear Sir,—At a meeting of Irishmen, held here on 21st ult., the resolution, which I have much pleasure in enclosing herewith, was passed, and I was instructed to send the same to you to be read at the National Convention, which is to be held in Dublin in the first week in September next. It expresses the sympathy of the Irishmen in this town with the view of the reunion of the Irish Party, and they sincerely trust the purpose for which the Convention has been convened will be accomplished.

Yours respectfully,

M. C. HAYES, Hon. Secretary.

At a meeting of Irishmen held in Pretoria, South African Republic, on Tuesday, the 21st July, 1896, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

"That this meeting of Irishmen assembled in Pretoria deeply deplore the dissension that still exists among the Irish Party, and express hope that the coming 'National Convention' will unite all sections of the Irish representatives, and erase for ever the evil elements of dissension and discord."

ALFRED JAMES FLYNN, President.

JAMES PAUL GERAGHTY, Vice-President.

Committee:

T. CUNNAMA.
T. GEARY.
W. H. BARRY,
EDWARD FARRELL.
W. C. HAYES, HOD. Sec.





REV. DENI3 O'HARA. (See pp 128, 296.)



DENIS KILBRIDE, M.P. (See pp. 131, 300.)



REV. RICHARD LYTTLE (See pp. 133, 301.)



GEORGE J, LYNSKEY. (See pp. 136, 303.)

THIRD DAY-3RD SEPTEMBER, 1896.

The chair was taken at 11 o'clock by the chairman, the Most Rev. Dr. O'DONNELL, Bishop of Raphoe.

The CHAIRMAN-Mr. Davitt will read some correspondence.

Mr. DAVITT, M.P.-I am requested to announce that the Convention of the Irish National League of Great Britain will assemble at 10 o'clock to-morrow in this hall instead of Saturday, as first agreed upon. The following cable has been received by his lordship the chairman:-

"Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Chairman Irish Convention. I hope that, in the interests of countless thousands of the young people of Ireland, the result of your deliberations may be unity, complete and entire, amongst your l'arliamentary representatives. MICHAEL J. HERNY, Rector, Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary for the Protection of Immigrant Girls, New York."

The following is a telegram from Leeds:-

"CHAIRMAN, IRISH RACE CONVENTION, Leinster Hall. Hunslet Irishmen send greetings to brethren from all parts. Trust result of deliberations will restore party

And the following has been received from Brisbane:-

Brisbane, July 21st, 1896.

THE CHAIRMAN, DUBLIN CONVENTION.

Sir,—At a public meeting of sympathisers with Home Rule for Ireland, held in this city on the 17th inst., the following resolution and address to the forthcoming

Resolution.—Proposed by J. Leahy, Esq., M.L.A., seconded by J. T. Beli, Esq., M.L.A., and supported by A. Dawson, Esq., M.L.A., and J. Hoolan, Esq., M.L.A.:—

"That this meeting approves of the holding of the forthcoming Convention at Dublin for the purpose of uniting the ranks of the Irish Home Rule Party, and expresses the hope that, since disunion in its ranks must retard the realisation of self-government for Ireland, every effort will be made by all members of the Party to promote united action in support of the great principle."

Address.—Adoption moved by C. B. Fitzgerald, Esq., M.L.A., seconded by E. J. Sydes, Esq., M.A., LL.B.:—

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to send a delegate from the Queensland supporters of Home Rule for Ireland to the Convention assembled for the purpose of restoring unity amongst its supporters in Ireland, and beg to thank you for the high privilege thus conferred on us. We tender our congratulations on the occasion of the meeting of such an important assemblage of the supporters of Home Rule from the different portions of the Empire, and sincerely hope that its deliberations will ensue in the achievement of the great purpose for which it has been called. It appears to us that under the most favourable conditions. Home Rule will not be granted by the Imperial Parliament while disunion exists amongst Home Rulers themselves, and we are strongly of opinion that such disunion is disastrous to the cause. Such opinion being substantially sound, it follows that the necessity of union amongst its supporters in Parliament is a question of paramount

importance. It follows also that every interest and difference of opinion, no matter by what party it may be entertained, should be subordinated to the primary necessity of restoring union amongst its supporters in Ireland, and in Parliamentary action as an undivided body. On behalf of the Queensland supporters of Home Rule we pledge again our assistance to the cause, and to the Irish Parliamentary Party to whom its conduct has been entru ted by the voice of the Irish people.

THOMAS J. BYRNE, Chairman,

Attorney-General for Queensland.

The CHAIRMAN-Gentlemen, a notice appeared on the agenda paper of a resolution dealing with the custody and trusteeship of funds. resolution has been withdrawn. But I have been told by leading members of the party that they looked forward to the discussion of that resolution as an opportunity of explaining to the Convention their views and principles in regard to these funds. Hence, later on in the course of the debate, a leading member of the party will state to the Convention why it is the view of the party that the party should be the trustees, that the party itself should have the custody of the party funds. Dean Harris has a few words to say to you.

Very Rev. Dean HARRIS, St. Catherine's, Ottawa-My lord bishop and gentlemen, it is exceedingly courteous and kind of the distinguished and most rev. chairman to permit me to address you for a moment on behalf of a member of our delegation, who has been, not by insinuation but by interrogation, foully aspersed, I am sorry to say for the honour of the Press of Dublin, in one of the newspapers. This gentleman has brought his charming wife with him from Ottawa over here to attend this Convention, and the first reception he met with was that he was the companion and consort of Le Caron, the British spy. Gentlemen, this is not fair. This is not generous, this is not honourable, and, ladies, this is not Irish. Let me add that, as to the gentleman whom I will call upon this platform, there does not walk on the acreage of the Dominion of Canada a man more respected, a man who for the unparalleled series of thirty-three years sat on the Aldermanic Board of the Corporation of Ottawa. More than that, which will appeal more strongly to your manhood, a man who, when the cholera ravaged the streets and houses of Ottawa among the Irish emigrants, took off his coat and carried the coffins on his back at night and laid them in consecrated ground-a man who nursed the patients, stood by them, soothed them, bending over the sick, when, mad with the instinct of selfpreservation, the friend deserted the friend and the brother turned away from the sister in the agony of self-preservation. This is the good man who, for his good deeds, his charitable deeds, has built up for himself a monument in the hearts of the people of Canada, that in Dublin. by one newspaper, was stigmatised as a spy of the English Government and a friend of Le Caron. A man who was honoured and decorated and knighted by his Holiness the Pope, not as a reward for military renown or prowess, not for distinguished literary achievement, but for the great and permanent qualification that he was an honest man. John Heney, stand up.

Chevalier HENEY (Ottawa) came forward, and was greeted with prolonged cheers.

Very Rev. Dean HARRIS-This is a man who has the proud boast that he has in his employment 150 Irishmen, and to minimise the importance of this venerable patriarch this newspaper, by interrogation -for it had not the manliness to say it straight, or Mr. Heney would proceed against it at the cost of a hundred thousand dollars-but by interrogation it suggested that this man was a friend of Le Caron, the British spy.*

On Friday, August 28th, Mr. John Redmond's organ, the Irish Daily Independent, wound up a long article of attack on the American delegates to the Irish Race Convention by the expression of

"The hope that if the delegate described as 'Chevalier' Hency is the same who in company with the infamous Major Le Caron attended a certain meeting of Irish extremists as far back as 1866, that the fact will be duly notified. We have no desire to pry too closely into the antecedents of anyone who comes a long distance to attend the forthcoming funeral of Mr. John Dillon's reputation; but in the interests of the public it may be well to know who exactly some of the delegates at large are when they are at home and abroad."

The paper in which this vile and utterly false insinuation was made against this veteran Irish patriot of stainless character was for some days kept from his knowledge, and the knowledge of his wife who accompanied him to Ireland. But at last a marked copy reached him through the post, and the insinuation is here repelled by Rev. Dean Harris and Chevalier Heney himself.

Next day, 4th September, the following reports of Very Rev. Dean Harris' and

Chevalier Heney's speeches appeared in the Independent; but, so far as can be found no apology whatever has been given :-

"Dean Harris, Toronto, complained of a statement made in one of the papers that Mr. John Heney, one of the most honest Irishmen in Canada, who had spent the greater part of seventy-four years of life in serving Ireland, had been the companion and consort of Le Caron the British spy. This was not fair, honourable, or Irish.

"Mr. Heney, the gentleman referred to, said that he always help.d the Irish movement in Canada. If it were for nothing else but the Chairman's address he would go home satisfied. The paper that had made the statement complained of had not the manhood to come out next day and state they believed it was not true. Continuing, Mr. Heney mentioned that he was born, not in Cork, but in Killeshandra, Co. Cavan. His wife was born at Lisnaskea. Her father was a M'Manus, and her mother an O'Connor, and that was not bad breeding stuff."

The fact of the charge was cabled to Canada, and naturally caused the greatest excitement especially in Ottawa, where Chevalier Heney is universally respected. There was a constant interchange of cablegrams on the 3rd September between Ottawa and the American delegation.

The Hon. John Costigan received the following cablegram:—

"Costigan, Shelbourne, Dublin.-Papers report Heney charged associate Le Caron, Harris de ending him. If true, intense indignation here. - ADAMS, WALSH.

The signatures affixed to this cablegram were those of Hon. Michael Adams, Senator, and another equally respected resident of Ottawa. A reply was forwarded calculated as far as possible to allay public indignation. But other cablegrams were received, amongst them two from the Rev. Father Whelan, of St. Patrick's, Ottawa, than whom no priest is better known or more loved—

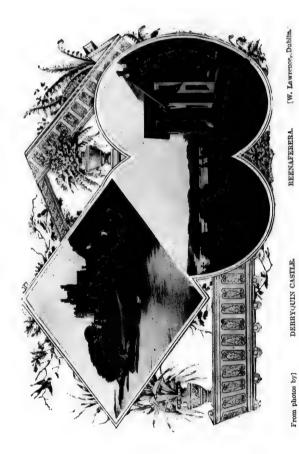
"Ottawa, Ontario, 5.14 p.m "To Costigan, Delegate, Dublin.-Inquire attack Heney, suspicions. FATHER WHELAN

And later :-

" Ottawa, 9.35 p.m.

"To Heney, Dublin.-Unearth author.-WHELAN." Chevalier Heney has since, we are informed, been unable to obtain audience,

retractation, or apology.



Chevalier HENEY, Ottawa-Gentlemen, I am only just going to say one word. I am a workingman, and not a speaker. I came here with the one word-to try if possible to throw oil over the disturbed waters. That is my mission here to-day. I did take an active part in the affairs in Canada, and was an alderman of the city, and the city grew up with me. I believe I am the oldest delegate who came across the sea. I am seventy-six years of age, and still an active man. My lord. I am pleased with my visit, if it were only to have heard your lordship's splendid opening address. You, gentlemen, whom I see before me on these chairs, are the men who rule Ireland. It is for you to send your representatives into Parliament. They will do your honest work. It is you who can make your members tremble. When you go back to your districts, club together, and never forget this meeting. Let your members be honest and true to you, and we will be true to you. I left these shores fifty-three years ago a poor, naked lad, without a dollar in my pocket, and since then I put thousands and thousands of dollars through my hands, and I never closed my hand to the emigrant, and never will. I came not from Cork, but from county Cavan, half-a-mile from Killeshandra, where I was born seventy-six years ago. As an humble man amongst you here, I hope that good will come from our mission amongst you, and the message I have received to convey to you is: "For God's sake, do something to reconcile our people, and we will be delighted." Since I have landed I have done all in my power to do this. I am accompanied by my wife, and I may tell you that her father was a M'Manus and her mother an O'Connor, and that was not bad breeding. I do not wish to keep up this any longer. I have been, I think, intruding on this meeting, and I will resume my seat.

Very Rev. Canon M'CARTAN, Donaghmore-My lord and rev. fathers and ladies and gentlemen, my first impulse in addressing you is to express my own and, I am sure, your great pleasure at seeing a dignitary of the Church occupying the position in which Dr. O'Donnell now is. I think it is a happy omen that we are assembled here under the blessing of Leo XIII., and had our proceedings conducted orderly, wisely, and with dignity by a venerable Bishop of the Irish Church. think, moreover, that he is exactly in the right place, because, ladies and gentlemen, our poor country has been very much lately distracted. Differences have arisen, giving rise to uncharitableness. Priests and people have been divided, and it is now high time that the episcopal body should take charge of a rather disorganised flock But it has come to this; and the time is now when I believe action such as this must be taken in the interest of good order and in the interest of religion. Having said so much, I wish to say a word with regard to the honourable and right hon, gentlemen that I see around me from foreign parts. I hope and trust in God that they will not consider these aspersions which have been cast upon them by a miserable Press-that they will not take them as an expression of the opinion of ninety-nine per cent. of the people of Ireland. It is a sad commentary on the exigencies of faction and parties that men can so far forget themselves as to speak of men who to-day appear in Ireland as nobodies-I did not read their paper to-day-and to describe them as spies and informers. There are two gentlemen connected with that paper, and I think it is due from

them, if they have any self-respect, if they have any gratitude, if they ever expect to look an honest man in the face, it is their duty to repudiate these charges. There are some of those men who went abroad to collect money, and only for such gentlemen as we have here from foreign parts, they would have to pawn their watches in order to get back to Ireland. I speak, however, now as a Catholic priest, and I say it is sad to think of it. I remember in '79 and '85 the late lamented Archbishop, Dr. M'Gettigan, came to the Conference, his pockets lined with money sent from America, to do what he liked with for the people of Ireland who were poor. He was enabled to give cheques for £ 50 and £ 100

to distribute amongst the poor people.

Here to-day we have men from all quarters-from America, Canada, and other places—all branded as "nobodies" or traitors. Gentlemen from foreign parts, I beg to assure you that it is an honour conferred upon you to-day, because the man is not worth his salt to-day in Ireland who does not receive attention from the same quarters that you have received it. Well, now, gentlemen, having said so much—and being the first priest that spoke after Dean Harris, I could not say less—I now turn to the third resolution. I will not read it. The pith of it is that as England has wrongfully, by coercion and against the people's will, governed Ireland, it is the bounden duty of the Irish Party to continue and maintain their independence of English political parties, and thus preserve its freedom to give an independent opposition or independent support to any party as may seem best to the interests of the National cause. Now, gentlemen, the success of this Convention will depend upon the practical results; and I say the first resolution-I was sorry I was absent from the statement the chairman made upon some little points in connection with the resolution, but it is left to the Irish Party, in their solicitude for the welfare of the National cause to take such measures as are possible to our cause in the promotion of unity. that by, and pass to the subject of unity. It is a waste of time discussing it. It has been thrashed out. Without unity there is disorganisation. In the Church to which I belong we have infallibility. It is the power that keeps us right in the ecclesiastical and spiritual order. If you go outside of that, and treat of human affairs, there is no way devised by the ingenuity of man by which order or unity will be preserved except by majority rule. By majorities, Poor Law Guardians, Town Councillors, Parliament itself—even the bishops, when they meet, decide on questions by majority. If you don't admit the principle of abiding by the decision of the majority, you have nothing but political heresy.

Now, gentlemen, I am delighted that we have got this resolution, and I am particularly delighted that I have got it myself. I believe, by establishing the principle of independent opposition, and no English alliance, we have made a platform broad enough for every honest Nationalist to take his stand upon. The policy of the future, as of the past, the successful policy now, as in days gone by, is the policy of no English alliance and independent opposition. That is the policy, gentlemen, that secured any rights that Ireland ever gained. Lately, perhaps, we may have trusted too much in English alliances. It is upon our own strength and upon our own selves we must rely. Grattan was not with the Whigs in 1782 when he got an Irish Nationalist Parlia-

John Keogh and Wolfe Tone were not with the Tories when we ment, got the Franchise Act. There was no alliance in 1829, when Daniel O'Connell wrung from an unwilling Government, an unwilling House of Lords, and an unwilling King, Catholic Emancipation. There was no English alliance in 1869, when the Church was disestablished, or when the Land Bill of 1870 was passed; there was no alliance when Parnell, leading a united people, placed the Land Act of 1881 on the Statute Book; and, above all, there was no alliance in 1885, when Gladstone was converted to Home Rule. England, ladies and gentlemen, will only yield to pressure, and that pressure must be applied at a long range; it is dangerous to get into close quarters with it, for if they stroke down your back "your integrity will be sapped." Our men must keep away from them; they must adopt Parnell's rule. A great English statesman having been asked in what he considered Parnell's strength principally lay, said it was in aloofness-it was in keeping away from them all. When he came down to the House they didn't know how, or when, or where he might strike them, and they were always watching what he was going to do. The Irish people want no union with any English party, but they want the union of the entire Irish nation against every English party. We want a clear, definite policy, as declared here to-day, and that policy shall be independent opposition and no English alliance. Will Mr. Healy refuse to join a party pledged to independent opposition and no English alliance? Will Mr. Redmond refuse to join a party pledged to independent opposition and no English alliance? What excuse have they now when the mandate of this Convention to the Irish Party is that they are to have independent opposition and no English alliance except on well defined lines which I will state afterwards? The time will come again when some English party will take up the question of Home Rule. We will force them to do it, and when that time comes we will give them every support. But we won't give them support of such a nature as to give over ourselves soul and body to them. We are not going to aid them in passing English measures to which we might conscientiously object. They must consult us about the measures they are going to bring in as well as we must consult them. We must not, in order to please the Nonconformist conscience or those Welsh reformers, bind ouselves now and say, "If you give us a vote for Home Rule, in which you believe, we therefore, will vote for you for measures in which we do not believe." There must be an honourable alliance. It must not be a thick-andthin alliance, but it must be an alliance of self-respecting men for a The Irish defined purpose, and that we are prepared to make. members want to be the friends of England, but will never be their slaves. We can never get anything by truckling to England. We got a Home Rule Bill passed through the House of Commons because we compelled it, and we will only succeed by putting them in a tight place and keeping them in it. Home Rule was taken up by the Liberal Party. Why? Because Ireland was ungovernable. It was a policy of defiance, and not a policy of alliance, that obliged them to take up the Home Rule question, and obliged Gladstone to take it up, and drag the majority of the Liberals after him. There is need of a little caution, and there is need of great circumspection on the part of our members,

because I can tell you this, that the English Liberals—the vast majority of the English Liberals—would drop Horne Rule to-morrow if they would dare. They would rather drag out before you the abolition of the House of Lords, which is, perhaps, a question of half a century hence. They would rather dangle that before you, and at the same time not honestly agitate for it themselves. You got such measures as Catholic Emancipation, although the House of Lords existed. If the English people want the House of Lords abolished, and if they consider that is the only means by which you may win Home Rule, then let them make England, Scotland and Wales too hot for the House of Lords. But whether they do that or not we will get Home Rule, because we will force it from one or the other party. I say, then, that as a rule those English Liberals are not our friends (Hear, hear, and cries of "No, no,"). It may be that there is a brother of Harcourt here. I am going to ask you was Harcourt an enthusiastic Home Ruler? Is Henry Fowler a enthusiastic Home Ruler? (Cries of "Yes" and "No.")

The CHAIRMAN-I would suggest that interrogation and answer do

not suit the deliberations of this assembly.

Canon M'CARTAN-Is Asquith a Home Puler?

The CHAIRMAN-I must persist in the ruling that interrogation and

answer do not suit our deliberations.

Canon M'Cartan—That gentleman when he was Home Secretary left our poor prisoners in jail against the wishes of Ireland until a Tory Government had to release them, and then they were ready for the grave or the lunatic asylum. I give Mr. Morley credit for being an honest Home Ruler, but Mr. Morley, unfortunately for us, has been looking rather to the Nonconformist conscience of England than to the wants of Catholic Ireland. Gentlemen, I need go over no more names. I see it would only give rise to discussion. We must have a great many Englishmen in this assembly. I do not want to offend the admirers of those Englishmen. I wish in conclusion to say to you all here, and to the members of Parliament, that it is with a view to strengthen their hands, to assist them to keep a stiff upper lip and a stout under jaw, to meet those fellows that we wish to give them a mandate from this Convention, and that mandate would be that it is our wish except for a well defined purpose and upon honourable terms that they are to make no alliance with any English Party.

Mr. Hugh Murphy, Home Government Branch, Glasgow—My lord and fellow-delegates, before supporting the resolution, you may allow me briefly to refer to a paragraph which appeared in the London Letter of yesterday's Independent. Gentlemen, I wish to point out what the Independent is foisting upon its readers at the present time. Yesterday it stated that the Home Government Branch, Glasgow, sent fourteen delegates to this Convention, and that there were only eight of its members left in Glasgow. I may state that we have sent fourteen delegates, and that in addition to that we have supplied other branches with ten delegates, and that we have fifteen members sitting in the gallery as visitors, making in all thirty-nine. As a matter of fact that thirty-nine would not be missed from the meeting on Sunday. We would still have as many left as there are Parnellites in Great Britain. I may further remind the Independent that one of our delegates is a Parnellite.



From photolby]

AT GLENBEIGH, CO. KERRY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

but I would be more correct perhaps by saying he was a Parnellite before he came to this Convention, and in the whole of Glasgow they could not find a correspondent to supply them with information, and they had to have recourse to the Home Government Branch to get its secretary to be their Glasgow correspondent. Now, in supporting this resolution, I think we should make it abundantly clear before leaving this Convention what our intentions are for the future. We agree that there should be unity, and we also agree that there should be discipline. Some of our friends remarked before this Convention that Mr. John Dillon was simply the chairman of the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party. I think, however, after the speech which Mr. Dillon delivered yesterday, when the Convention is over Mr. John Dillon will be leader of the Irish race at home and abroad. For six or seven years we have been supporting the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party. We do not desire this to continue. From this time forward we say to Mr. John Dillon "We are not going to support the majority any longer; we are going to support the entire Parliamentary Party;" and we tell Mr. John Dillon that he must insist on that party on the minority abiding by the decision of the majority. In connection with the alliance spoken of by Canon M'Cartan—the alliance with the English Liberals—we are told that Mr. Redmond represented independent opposition. I have simply to point out that the alliance with British Liberals was formed not when Mr. Dillon was leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party but when Mr. Parnell was. I will simply say that from this time forward it will be our bounden duty to unite as one man in Great Britain, in America, and Australia, and we will send money and support to the Irish Parliamentary Party, and in return we ask Mr. Dillon to see that the members agree among themselves, or else clear out of the Party.

Mr. THOMAS LOUGHLIN, Bradford-Most rev. president, I heard some remarks of the Very Rev. Canon M'Cartan with the deepest pain. If I believed that we could win Home Rule for Ireland without converting some English party to the desirability of Home Rule, I, with some fellow-workers in Great Britain, would not look for their assistance for one moment. But the late Charles Stewart Parnell, after leading his party through splendid fights against both Whig and Tory, had to enter into an alliance with the Democratic Party in Great Britain, and that Democratic Party shed their aristocrats and became a democratic workingman's party. They lost the Devonshires and the other great titled men, and they brought in a splendid Home Rule Bill in the words of Mr. Parnell, spoken, too, on many of the platforms in Great Britain. They fought in the House of Commons, and when the fight was over there they went to the country, and for a time after Home Rule was defeated we, the Irish in England, worked in the fight, canvassing Eng. hmen and Scotchmen and Welshmen, and made friends, who are still true friends to us and Home Rule to-day. At that time the Tory policy was perpetual coercion for Ireland, and we supported the Home Rule party against the policy of coercion of the government that followed. When the Liberals returned to power, with a small majority indeed, they had some parties in their country to conciliate, and had to show to the workingmen that they intended to do some good for them, and in the midst

of that they passed a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, and it was against the House of Lords that rejected it that we fought at the last general election in Great Britain. The result of that election was, that, owing to our divisions, a Tory majority was returned. Now, I don't say that every man in the present Liberal Party is sound, but I am profoundly and firmly convinced that the vast majority of the Liberal Party are sound to the core, and that Home Rule is still a plank in the Liberal programme, and so long as it so remains you are bound to support the Liberal Party.

The CHAIRMAN—Canon M'Cartan wishes to say a word in explana-

tion of his views on the Home Rule alliance.

Canon M'Cartan—I am sorry the last speaker has entirely misunderstood me. My contention was that until you convert some of the great English parties to take up the Home Rule question that you will fight them to death until you force that upon them. Once they take it up, then, you are at liberty to form an honourable alliance, not as I said before, an alliance of slaves, but an honourable alliance.

Mr. DAVITT-There never has been any alliance of slaves.

Canon M'CARTAN—Mr. Davitt says there never was an alliance of slaves, but if Mr. Sexton and other members of the House of Commons had yielded occasionally to the threats of John Morley, that he would regign if they did not do so and so, that would have been an alliance of slaves. All I want is that we shall get a quid pro quo that will be honourable on all sides, and as long as they are loyal to us we will be loyal to them, and if we want them to be loyal we must make them so.

Rev. P. J. O'Donnell, St. Mary's, Montreal—It is not for me to say much at this moment. I came with my fellow-delegates from Canada with a message, and, the message being identical, it was delivered in the beginning of this august assembly. It was a message of good-will, a message of peace, and a request that unity should exist for the purpose of carrying out and obtaining the grand result—the success of the sacred cause for which we have all struggled so long. The desire of the Irishmen of Montreal is this—that the cause should be pursued and the goal reached as soon as possible. But, as in other parts of the world, a spirit of depondency has for the last couple of years entered into their hearts. I am delighted to be here on this memorable occasion. A great many of my fellow-countrymen in honour of the cause I represented saw me on board my train, and one enthusiastic and patriotic gentleman wished moreover that the carriage should carry the Irish flag. This sentiment did not prevail. But this was decided—"No," they said, "wait until he returns." Now, gentlemen, having sat at the deliberations of this assembly, having witnessed the spirit which has animated the thousands present, I desire to say that I can bring back a message of

^{*} Canon M'Cartan, in a letter to the Press, makes a correction which has been embodied in above. He says further:—"My whole argument was that on the Home Rule 3'll, as on the English Education Bill, the Liberals were trying to coerce or bully our Irish members, who went straight and maintained their independence; and I wanted to strengthen their hands by showing those English leaders, and the Price Hugheses and the English and Welsh Nonconformists, that our Convention was at their back in their present line of policy of independence, and of setting at defiance the threats of any English party."

hope, and can say that you are determined to stand together shoulder to shoulder at any sacrifice. I can say to the people of Montreal, to the Irishmen of the Dominion of Canada, that they may not now be ashamed to unfurl the green banner of Erin. We have heard a noble utterance from the great and distinguished prelate who presides so ably, and in the spirit of that address I think we may hope, by this Convention, to lay down the foundation deep and broad and solid enough to carry an edifice that will be a monument not only to ourselves, but for generations yet to come, that from this platform we may secure the desire of the Irish race throughout the world-Home Rule for Ireland. I think this will be the result of the deliberations of this assembly, and when we go home to the different parts of the world from whence we came I think we can encourage our people. I think I can ask them to unfurl the green flag, and not only to do that, but to put their hands deep into their pockets, and, each according to his means, give something that will not only stimulate the cause but help it along until victory is won. I have not the honour of having been born in Ireland, but my sentiments are the same. My love for Ireland is the same. Little over forty years ago my parents left their home in the land that has given to this assemblage the distinguished prelate whose name I bear. In conclusion, I thank you for your reception, and I feel assured and convinced that the results of the Convention will be all that you desire, and what all the people we represent desire to obtain.

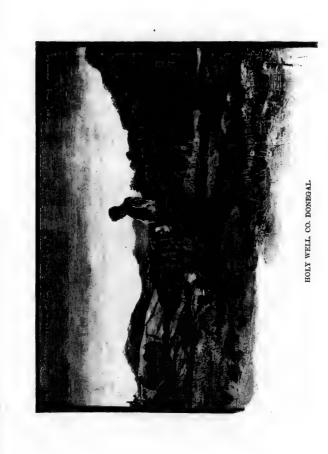
The CHAIRMAN—I have been asked from many quarters to put on a time limit, but as an amendment is to be proposed to this resolution by Mr. Fitzgerald, of London, and as it deals with a matter of great public moment, I think it is well you should hear at some length Irish speakers who live J Ireland in reference to the resolution. I call on

Mr. Joseph Devlin, Belfast.

Mr. JOSEPH DEVLIN, Belfast-My lord bishop, rev. fathers, and fellow-countrymen, my only claim to address this magnificent assembly of the Irish race at home and abroad is the fact that I am, perhaps, the humblest of the delegation that has come from a city in this country which, during the past five years, has thrown no chip upon the fires of faction. We learned from Mr. Parnell (applause), when the Party existed in all its power and strength, the power and potency of a disciplined Irish Party and a united Irish people, and when the unfortunate divisions arising out of the Parnellite split took place, we learned from Mr. Healy the doctrine of majority rule. But we are faithful to-day, as this Convention proves to be, to the doctrines laid down by Parnell and Healy before the unfortunate divisions that exist at present commenced. Our position in the capital of Ulster is this. There is an rish Parliamentary Party. That Irish Parliamentary Party in a constitutional fashion meets in conclave; it arrives at a deliberate decision. Whether that decision is right or wrong, it is the duty of every man to obey it. And we not only declare our belief in the principle of majority rule, but once a legitimate majority expresses its view, our position is this-that we will back up the majority by substantial public support. I say to this Convention to-day that the support of the majority should not be a laggard support; it is not the way to stamp out faction by standing aside and leaving your leaders to fight an unequal battle, If you believe in

the spirit and the letter of the pledge, you must stamp out faction, and you can do it best by supporting the majority. The best way in which you can support the majority—the best way in which you can stamp out the minority of mutineers-is by being generous and just in your help and in your spontaneous assistance to that party. We have heard that the divisions in the Irish ranks are merely internal divisions upon questions of party government; but if you look back to the time when these divisions arose in the ranks, they did arise out of the question of party government. But a few days ago, in consequence of the stretch of this question, you had certain men-pledged to sit, act, and vote with the Party-going into a different lobby in the House of Commons before the enemies of our race. You had the leader, duly elected-the leader of the people-publicly insulted in the House of Commons, You had the cause of Ireland degraded and lowered in the minds of her enemies, and had torture brought to the heart of every friend of Ireland. If so, the position is this: - If the people of Ireland declare to-day, as they have, and as they did in the past, that majority rule must prevail, the constitutional government of our movement must succeed. The way to do it is not by passing resolutions, but by spreading the branches of the organisation—the only legitimate organisation of the country and by every man of means giving his help when he can to aid the Party in their difficult work. When the cry went out, "Starve out the Irish Party," Belfast commenced by trebling its subscriptions. That is the spirit which should actuate every man in this Convention. Our Convention has been a glorious success. It has been presided over, I am proud to say, by an illustrious Ulsterman. It it a great credit to our Church and the position we have taken up, and it is a great glory to the National cause, that we have a man like him at our head. We will go forward again with gladdened hearts, longing for the time when we can make another strong appeal together, and hopeful for the day when, marching as one man, we place ourselves behind our leaders in their march to victory.

The Hon. JOHN COSTIGAN, Ottawa-My lord, ladies and gentlemen, I feel it a great honour indeed, that is conferred upon me, and upon the Irishmen of the city of Ottawa especially, and that was endorsed by the Irishmen of Canada, that I was selected to come with a message of peace, a message of sympathy, a message of hope and confidence in the future in the attainment of the object which is dear to every Irishman at home and I feel that honour and realise it more since I came here. feel proud, not as an Irishman, because unfortunately I cannot claim that I am an Irishman, but you would never make me say that I am not an Irishman. I am the descendant of Irish parents. They were always identified with the cause with which my deepest sympathies are enlisted now, and though I have not the honour of being an Irishman born in Ireland, I belong to a class all over the world that are the strongest friends of Ireland in the movement that you advocate to day. Yes, I feel proud of being here to-day, proud of having the honour of addressing this vast audience through you, my lord, who have opened the business of this Convention in an address that has challenged the admiration of every intelligent man. We who come from abroad had



some difficulties when we reached here. We do unfortunately see dissension and disunion in the Irish ranks and among the Irish people. We had the privilege of educating ourselves through the Press of the country, through the leading Press of this great city; but the education was unsafe and unreliable. And though it is supposed and charged against us who came from abroad that though delegate after delegate has on this platform and in the interviews which have taken place with representatives of the Press of the country; declare that the delegates came free and independent and unpledged to any particular party, and came as bearers of a message of confidence—they still publish all sorts of slanders against the delegates; and, gentlemen, if to be an Irishman instead of the descendant of an Irishman-if the qualification to make me an Irishman was the adoption of a policy like that, then I would say, "Thank God, I am the descendant of an Irishman." Sir, as a matter of courtesy, as a matter of cold policy, the reception given to the delegates from abroad was coarse and brutal to men who came across the ocean, not as tourists, but who left their business and came here as intelligent men to stand with you, and to express sympathy, and to give you the assurance that in a grand patriotic movement you may count upon the strong sympathy of your fellow-countrymen and their descendants. I have another complaint to make against the gentlemen who inspire, or are supposed to inspire, these articles.

We are told the delegation from abroad will be here, and will be misled; we will be fooled by the speeches of Mr. Dillon, by Mr. O'Connor, or Mr. Blake, and other prominent gentlemen I am proud to see on this platform to-day. Well, sir, I followed the history of this Convention as closely as I have been able to follow it, and I find that those gentlemen who make that statement seem to have done all in their power to make this grand Convention a failure, though I am glad to see, and every Irishman is glad to see, they have utterly failed in their efforts. Why are not these gentlemen, professing to be Irishmen, why are they not here to-day? Why are they not here to-day to save us from being misled by seeing that the question was fairly put and fairly discussed? We are told, and you know that, through the Press, we are told that this Convention represents nobody, that it does not represent the Irish people, that it does not represent the friends of Home Rule in Canada or in the United States. Well, to my mind, my lord and gentlemen, I believe honestly and sincerely that it would be difficult to gather in the city of Dublin a more representative and intelligent representation of the Irish cause than I see before me here to-day.

I know that time is passing, and I know how valuable that time is. I will not trespass much longer upon the patience of the Convention. I have delivered my message, and I expect to take back a message. You need not instruct me; I will draw my own conclusions. I will go back to my people in Canada, and I will tell them how proud I was to stand upon this platform. If they ask me if the breach schealed and union complete I will say I regret that I cannot go that far; but I will say this, that standing upon this platform and looking at that vast audience of representative men from England, Ireland, and Scotland, the United States, and our own delegates from Canada and from the distant colonies already named, I had no doubt that practically speaking union

is established in Ireland to-day. And if they ask me for my reasons for coming to that conclusion I have many to give. But the only answer necessary in Canada, and the one that will tell in the United States and the other colonies, will be that when I found as the result of the call for this Convention the success which attended it, notwithstanding every effort, fair and unfair, that was made to make it a failure, the response to that call gave evidence to my mind that the call emanated from the proper quarter. When speaking to my fellow-citizens in Canada I shall say that the movement has the approbation of my old friend, though my political opponent, the Hon. Edward Blake. No further guarantee would be required in Canada, and if it were I would say that I saw around the platform in front of this movement members of the Irish Parliamentary Party whose names on the Continent of America will inspire more confidence than the name of any man who is throwing his influence against this Convention. If I mention on any platform on the other side of the Atlantic the name of that Home Ruler, Michael Davitt, William O'Brien, John Dillon, and that of my old friend whom I am proud to say I met in Canada, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, these names will be the best endorsement of the action of this Convention here to-day, and the best justifica-

tion for the calling of such a Convention.

The Convention has been a tremendous success. We who have come from abroad will return, having delivered an humble message to the Irish people; we will go back and deliver a message in return to our own people. We will say it may be impossible to bring within the folds of the great patriotic party all that we would desire to see within it. I am not going to talk about their motives-it is sufficient for me to know that as they are not with this movement they must be against it. They may not come in. I am glad the motion to negotiate with those gentlemen who would not recognise this Convention was not carried. The mover and seconder of that motion seemed to overlook the fact that those gentlemen, having protested from the beginning against the authority of the Convention, there was no guarantee whatever that they would submit to any action that would be taken by this Convention. I will go back and tell our friends in Canada that the Irish Parliamentary Party are surrounded by representative Irishmen who had the endorsation of the people of Ireland, and of the Irish people of the United States and other countries. I would like to repeat the words of that brilliant young Irishman who spoke before me, and in doing so I would be doing myself credit, and I believe I would be expressing the free sentiments of my colleagues. It has been said that if the people of Ireland will not agree to sink their differences and unite that they ought not expect any assistance to be given them by their friends abroad. That is true generally speaking, but if it were to be carried out too rigidly and too strictly it would mean that a few individuals would be able to carry on a policy of wreck. We will give the matter a more generous interpretation in Canada. When we see that the Irish people are standing by their leaders and by the Irish Parliamentary Party, and standing by the policy laid down years ago—that the majority must rule, we in Canada, I think I can say that much, will see that you are deserving of support, and it would be impossible for us to come to any other decision. I hear reference made to political parties. We have political parties in our own country. A descendant of Irishmen as I am in Canada, I may be allowed to say that when Home Rule came up I did not hesitate to join the Home Rule ranks. You may easily understand that that was not at all a popular or fashionable step to take. I am a staunch Conservative in Canada, and on the question of Home Rule, when I came to make up my mind, I said I did not see why the people of Ireland should not enjoy those same blessings of self-government as we enjoyed in Canada. I have no party when I speak of Home Rule. Give us Home Rule and freedom. Let Ireland rule itself, and I care not from whom it comes, whether you call them Tories or Whigs, or anything else. My lord, I thank you most sincerely for the permission to trespass so long upon the patience of the Convention. I look here to-day at this audience and see intelligent faces that I never expect to see again, and I am afraid that I am right in this opinion, that it will be many a year and many a day until such a representative gathering of the world over shall appear in Ireland again. Let determination and union, and further and greater effort in the cause of the attainment of Ireland's rights, go on, and if I can reciprocate, unworthily it may be, the words of a reverend clergyman yesterday in reference to the foreign delegates when he said—"God bless them," and say as an humble sinner, who may appeal to God also, "God bless the people of Ireland and those who fight her battles."

The CHAIRMAN—Mr. Fitzgerald, of Bermondsey Branch, has a resolution to move. I ask him to come to the platform.

Mr. FITZGERALD, Bermondsey—I was asked when I came here not to be long, and I won't be long, because I am not much of a speaker. I am about to propose an amendment, and it is for this meeting to say whether it will adopt it or not as a representative meeting, which I believe it to be, anything to the contrary notwithstanding, of the Irish race. I won't say a single word about unity, because I conceive that question was settled yesterday. I don't mind what newspapers say, because newspapers write for their readers, and we should not bother about them except in so far as they would create public opinion. Consequently our policy should be not to make speeches and round periods, but if we are in earnest and agree that Mr. John Dillon should lead the Irish Party—if they are going to stand by John Dillon and the Irish Party as represented by him, they will expect that party to give something in return for the support they gave to them. Therefore, if you will turn to your agenda paper, resolution 3, I want to add after the words "Irish soil" these words:—

"We declare that this Convention is of opinion that the time has arrived when the Irish Party should cease to treat with any English party for the granting of Home Rule, and should make English government of Ireland impossible in the English Parliament until the English nation is prepared to recognise Ireland's claim to be a nation by creating a Parliament in Dublin for the government of Ireland."

My lord, you truly said that it was a matter of some public moment. It is of great public moment for Ireland, because we have to consider when will England grant Ireland Home Rule? No man can say when, and I say—Why should Ireland wait? Is Ireland to wait for four years more? The Irish race has waited four years for England to grant Ireland Home Rule, and the demand for Home Rule has come to be a kind of glorified

County Council in the ideas of a great number of those Englishmen who voted for it at the last election; and I want to know why did not the Liberal Party go to the country on the question of Home Rule after its rejection, instead of on the Local Veto question? We are looking to you, Mr. Dillon, for statesmanship, guidance, and leadership, and the rev. gentleman who, I think, seconded the resolution covered most of the ground when he said that it is no use dealing with a section of the English nation. The Liberal Party is not the English nation, and the English people have condoned the action of the House of Lords, and they will condone it again and again and again. I tell you that, as a man who has worked in London for many of the Liberal Party-and men in this room know that I have the confidence of the Liberal Party in my constituency-but at the same time I say that the policy for Irishmen to take up is not to belong to any Liberal organisation. want the party in the House of Commons to take up a policy of action, and I say that the country will justify you, sir, and I want to know the name of the Irish representative who will dare to depart from the policy of action worked by you in the House of Commons in that way. is the way you will get unity. Englishmen stood as an example in that respect. Their policy is-England first, and politics after. I am prepared to do my share, to sink my prejudices, if you call them prejudices, for you, and to stand by Dillon and the party, and then they must do something in the House of Commons instead of discussing details of this and that English Bill. I have been in the House of Commons many times, and have heard impassioned speeches from Sexton, but does that eloquence take any effect in the English House of Commons? Not the slightest bit, but if you will do something, and if you will do something ugly and something uncomfortable, the Englishman will listen to you. Now for the representation. I say that these men know how to do that work, and they ought to do it.

A Voice—What work?

Mr. FITZGERALD—The men we have in the House of Commons ought to do something for Ireland.

At this point a delegate on the platform rose to order, and someone

at the back of the hall also interrupted.

The CHAIRMAN—A point of order has been raised. I have been asked to rule that Mr. Fitzgerald's remarks are not pertinent. Mr. Fitzgerald intends to say very little more, and I think it better for me not to enter into the question as to whether his remarks are exactly to the resolution or in support of his addition to the resolution or not.

Mr. FITZGERALD—I am endeavouring to show the meeting why I want this addition made, and I will try and keep to the point, and I don't think I have deviated from it, gentlemen. I want this meeting and I want all Ireland to support Mr. John Dillon in the decision this Convention came to, and I want to convey to your minds, and through your minds to the men you represent as delegates, that the policy that will command success and approval, that the policy that will fetch the dollars across the Atlantic, that the policy that will make the men in Ireland work, that the policy that will command the respect of every man in Ireland who wants to see Ireland free, is not a policy of walking through the corridors of the House of Commons, but a policy of action there,



ALPHONSUS QUIN. (See pp. 137, 305.)



VERY REV. WILLIAM FLANNERY, D.D. (See pp. 138, 305.)



JOHN B. DEVLIN. (See pp. 140, 306.)



HON. JOHN M'KEOWN, Q.C. (See pp. 143, 307.)

that until the English nation recognises Ireland's claim to be a nation by giving her a Parliament in Dublin, and you will make it impossible for her to govern Ireland from Westminster. If you don't agree with that, don't accept my addition to the resolution.

A Voice-In what way?

Mr. FITZGERALD—The old way that made a united Irish Party, and the only way; if the work is too hard for our present representatives, Ireland has plenty of men who will do it.

The CHAIRMAN—The addition or amendment, however it is to be called, has been proposed to the resolution; is there anyone to second it? (Cries of "No, no.") The addition then falls to the ground.

Father Clancy will now address you.

Rev. M. J. CLANCY, Tipperary—Although nobody has been found to second the addition to the third resolution, still it may not be out of place, in consequence of the manner in which the remarks of the speaker were received, to say a few words upon the question he has raised.

Rev. PATRICK LYNCH, M.R. (Manchester)—My lord, is this in order?

It is not before the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN-I consider Father Clancy is in order, owing to the fact that some of the remarks made by Mr. Fitzgerald might have been

made in discussing the resolution itself.

Rev. M. J. CLANCY-Mr. Fitzgerald, animated no doubt by the very best motives, has proposed a policy and a method of carrying on Parliamentary agitation which would make Parliamentary agitation in the present state of the Irish Party merely a scorn and a byeword. That might have been very well in the old days, when you had seven or eight men standing up in the House of Commons, every man's hand against them and their hands against every man; but these times have changed, and with the increase of numbers, and the increase of funds, has come increased responsibility, and what might have been very much in place in the old days would be very much out of place at the present time. With regard to this question I have decided opinions. I must say that one of the things that most grate upon me is that we should have to look to any English Party for the attainment of our free-But we must take things as they are, and having entered on the path of Parliamentary agitation, we must work it out according to the rules of the game. It is all very well to discuss what ought to be done by Dillon, Davitt, or Blake. We, here at home, to not know the difficulties under which they labour If consideration for them does not decide the course we ought to adopt-a little ordinary modesty ought to do so. We have elected these men because they are tried men, clever men, because they have spent their lives battling for Home Rule according to the rules of Parliamentary action. Are we in our petty wisdom at home here to be laying down strict rules for them as to how they are to conduct themselves when troubles and emergencies arise? Their main object must be Home Rule without any alliance except what would most conduce towards Home Rule, But once that indispensable principle is laid down you must leave them a great latitude of action. We are all very wise after the event, very clever politicians indeed when the march of events shows us that things would have been better if something else were done. I have no sympathy

with men whose only policy is a policy of criticism, and who when things go wrong which they made no effort to set right, adopt the policy of "I told you so." As to supporting Liberal measures or standing by them in return for the action of the Liberals in passing a Home Rule Bill-whether a policy of give and take between the Irish and Liberal Party-all these things must be left to the decision of the trained politicians who are chosen, because they are trained and skilled parliamentarians It occurs to me that a very useful parallel might be drawn from the history of a portion of Napoleon's campaign. The Austrians were always brave soldiers, they had magnificent generals, but still they were always beaten; and why? Because there was a council at home which was always hampering the action of the men upon the field. It is the same with us. We have our men upon the field, too. We have chosen them freely and in open Convention, and no man will dare to tell me before this assembly that Conventions were rigged in '95. I would like to see the man who would come down to Tipperary to rig a convention. We have chosen them in open Convention because they were brave men, because they were clever men, and because they were self-sacrificing men. We are sending them into the heart of the enemy's country, and instead of twarting and criticising them we should leave them a free hand as long as they keep the principle before their minds

that their only object is Home Rule for Ireland.

Now I may be permitted to make a few remarks upon that beautiful speech delivered by the Hon. John Costigan, from Canada. As soon as I heard that speech I remarked to those who were about me that the Convention was not without fruit. If there was no other fruit except the delivery of that speech our time was not lost here. He struck the keynote when he said that if you have not absolute unity you have practical unity. And further, when he said that in the maintaining of the Irish Party, in the working out of absolute unity if we can, there should be a generous and whole-hearted support from our friends at home and abroad. And some of the speakers will pardon me if I say that speaking about unity and speaking about majority rule in the same breath was somewhat illogical. If unity exists in the way in which they appear to speak about it no question of majority rule can arise at all. When does majority rule arise, or the necessity for it? When dissension exists, and when there is diversity of opinion, we require unity of action. There has been a good deal of balmy talk about unity and conciliation. Well I am for conciliation. I am for quiet measures as long as quiet measures or conciliation are of any use whatsoever. But there is a point, and I think it has been reached—there is a point beyond which conciliation, or forbearance, or toleration of the mutineers would be treason to the country. Let anybody passing through the streets read merely the placards of some of our Dublin papers, and I think they will convey that lesson just as well as I can. My last word would be—Here we are, laymen and ecclesiastics from every part of Ireland. Looking on this platform I see men present who bore, in the old times of the National League and against Balfour's Coercion Act, the burthen of the day and the heat when many men, who are brave critics now and bold Nationalists, were far more ready to attack the friends of Ireland than they were then to tace her enemies. I can see them here—the men on

whom we could depend—the men on whom we could depend to go to Woodford, and in the midst of the brave people of that district tear up to pieces and burn Balfour's proclamation. We have them here, and—

44 True men, like you men, Are plenty here to-day."

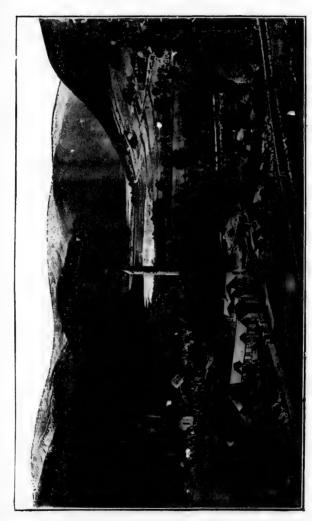
We claim to be the majority, and if we are not the majority why are not the men here who say we are not, and put us into the minority? Charges have been made, and I put it plainly and squarely to the foreign delegates whether it is not a fact that the reason why they were apathetic was, that they believed there was something behind the charges which were being levelled at the majority of the Irish Party. Well, there are the representatives of the majority. Where are their traducers? There are men amongst them who are not very reticent. I won't mention places, but if I liked I could mention places where they made charges against their colleagues, when the making of such charges was calculated to do almost fatal injury to the Irish cause. Why are they not here to substantiate these charges? Because they dare not. We have had grave discussion, we demand discussion, we challenge discussion, and if there is no response to our challenge, I ask the foreign delegates to disbelieve these charges, to believe that the men who form the majority of the Irish Party are not corrupted with English gold, that no bossism exists in the Irish Party, and really when you come to talk of bossism, it seems strange for people to imagine that John Dillon is able to boss Michael Davitt. We cannot, of course, expect absolute unity, but we pin our faith to majority rule. What does that lead us to? The resolution is there which calls upon us to support the Irish Party in carrying out discipline in its own ranks. How can that be done? Father O'Leary, Castlelyons, told you yesterday that it can be done if the funds come in to enable these men to insist upon discipline. You cannot expect absolute unity; it is impossible; and, as remarked by a previous speaker, this talk about absolute unity only enables a few mutineers to deplete the coffers of the Irish Party. That is their object. We must defeat that object. I have never asked anybody to do anything for Ireland that I am not prepared to do myself. and I pledge you, and I think I can pledge you, the people amongst whom I labour, and I think I can give a pledge on behalf of the people of Tipperary, where I now reside, and if the foreign delegates do their duty amongst their people we will do our duty amongst the Irish people at home, and, as far as I am concerned, my voice, my pen, and my pocket will always be at the service of the Irish Party and the Irish people.

The CHAIRMAN-I hear calls for William O'Brien.

Mr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN—My lord bishop, ladies, and gentlemen, I am wholly in the hands of the Convention, even in the matter of saying a few words, very much against my will, because so long as things were going on so triumphantly for Ireland as they have been going on yesterday and to-day I have no ambition in this hall but to hold my tongue, and sit and listen with joy and gratitude for the glorious work that is going on for Ireland. There is not a man here who has the least desire to exploit himself to the smallest degree except for the benefit of Ireland, and the triumphant success of this great Convention. Our good friend,

Father Flynn, of Waterford, may rest perfectly assured that if any section of our fellow-countrymen who differ from us, whether they be Parnellites, or whether they call themselves by any other name, if they will only imitate the spirit of Father Flynn, displayed here at this Convention yesterday, I can promise them they will find that, as far as some of us are concerned, we are willing now as we were willing always to go any length to meet them, to conciliate them. Anything to induce these men to conduct themselves, and work as loyal comrades as they did before. My lord bishop, one thing, at all events, is certain, whatever they do, or whatever any man does, the full effect of this Convention will not perhaps be felt all at once, but I say the decrees of this Convention if they are sustained by the Irish race in the spirit of the Hon. Mr. Costigan's glorious speeches, these decrees will, beyond all doubt, settle the course of events in Ireland for this generation, and will efface sooner or later any man, or any set of men, that dare to stand up against them. Gentlemen, if there has been possibly any weakness in the action of the Irish Party in the past in dealing with these troubles, as a gentleman, I think it was Dr. O'Meara, suggested yesterday-well it was perhaps through an excess of patience and of good nature, of conciliation towards brother Irishmen, and of a very natural shrinking and disgust for those scenes of discord as long as it was humanly possible to avoid them. I am bound to say, also, it was largely because members of the Irish Party, certain members at all events of that Irish Party, of whom I was not one, were discouraged at the apparent apathy of the country, and thought that the people of Ireland had not spoken out their will with sufficient determination to justify them in enforcing the discipline of the Party, even against men who were doing all that men could do to break the solidity of that Party.

Well, my friends, after this Convention no Irish member can ever make that complaint. The accusers of the Irish Party-their accusers in the English House of Commons, amidst the jeers of the grinning enemies of Ireland -have failed to face the music at this Convention. They have allowed judgment to go against them by default. This Convention is, and everybody who has spoken has admitted that it is, perhaps, the very greatest, the most harmonious, and the most representative assemblage of the Irish race that ever came together. You, my lord bishop and gentlemen, have now given that Irish party your unstinted confidence. A gentleman spoke here a while ago, and re-echoed statements that possibly might have been better left unexpressed, as to our relations with English parties. I venture to say that there is not a man listening to me in this hall, aye, and among the supporters of the Parnellites throughout the country, there is not a man who in his heart and soul does not know that we care more for the little finger of one Irish peasant than for the whole bodies of the two British parties together. There are men in that Irish Party who for every hour they have ever spent under an Englishman's roof have spent as many months in her Majesty's prisons; and even that record is child's play compared with the record of a man sitting on this platform who has spent nine years of independent opposition in the penal hells of England. No. That English party, whether Liberal or Tory, who are friends of Ireland are our friends. We know how to be true friends as well as to



From photo by]

GLENDALOUGH, CO. WICKLOW.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

be pretty thoroughgoing enemies, and the English party, Whig or Tory, who are Ireland's enemies will have our undying hostility, a hostility that will be only all the keener if—as I for one don't anticipate—the English Liberal Party should ever abjure their solemn pledge to make Home Rule, and keep Home Rule, their very first business the moment they get into power. I am not able to go very much further. The excitement and my enthusiasm over all that we have been going through during the last few days are almost too great to allow me to say any thing more than this. As I have said before, the Irish Party may have had some doubt until now what is the will of the Irish nation. You have spoken out your will. You have armed them with sovereign authority to enforce that will, and to stand no further nonsense (Great cheering, the audience rising and waving their hats), and-it may not come about in a week nor in a month—but you have to-day laid the foundations once more for a real Irish Party under a real leader, a man for whom no Irish Nationalist will ever have reason to blush, a party that will be generous enough and broad-minded enough to welcome every honest Irish Nationalist into its ranks, but that will be strong enough to put down any man, or any section of men, who from this hour forth dare to throw their own petty personal interests across the march of our exiled countrymen and our great old Gaelic race at home.

At the conclusion of Mr. O'Brien's speech there were loud and pro-

longed cries of "Davitt."

The Chairman—I must explain that Mr. O'Brien had sent me a message that he would not speak, and while noticing your cries, I was going to tell you—but was prevented by having to call on Mr. O'Brien—that you would have a speech from another distinguished delegate. That delegate will address you now. He represents the National Federation of America. He is the secretary of an organisation from which thousands and thousands of pounds have flowed into the

national coffers.

Mr. JOSEPH P. RYAN, New York—I am sorry that the exigencies of business prevented the presence here of the President of the Organisation, Dr. Addis Emmet, and other capable officers. I am sorry they are not here to represent the Irish National Federation of America, and to voice its sentiments. The duty is imposed on me to bear to you a brief message. We demand that unity shall be established in this country, and that obedience to majority rule must be enforced by every legitimate means. Some question has been raised in some of the local journals as to whether we had a right to speak at this Convention. Now, gentlemen, I am well aware that no one knows better than the men who inspired a question of that sort the fact of our entire right to be present. We are the same men, or the representatives of the same men, who have given unceasing service and generous aid to every appeal from Ireland, and whose generous hospitality has been shared by every ambassador that visited our shores, until the breath of discord had chilled the hearts and palsied the hands of our generous people. are some of the men who have poured help into the coffers of the National League and the National Federation to enable a fight to be made against the common enemy. We are the same men who, at the last meeting held under the auspices of the ambassadors of a united

party, raised at the meeting 27,000 dollars to aid Ireland. We are the same men, or the representatives of the same men, who in two years, under the auspices of what is known as the Hoffman House Committee of New York, sent to Ireland 200,000 dollars. We are the same men, or the representatives of the same men, who even since division came to the National forces of Ireland have raised, in spite of the disaffection and of the despair that hung over our people, a sum of 150,000 dollars. I might go on enumerating reasons from a material point of view, if I chose to do so, to show our right to be here. But there are other reasons. We deny the right of any authority in Ireland to deny our connection with the glorious history, traditions, and sufferings of Ireland. They are ours. We have shared them; we have tried to remedy some of them. We may be the sea-divided Gael, but we are not divided in

interest, so far as Ireland is concerned.

I would not for a moment occupy your time to answer the question that has been put to us as to who we are, except that it is used for the purpose of confusing Irishmen, to impose upon them the belief that we who come here are not representative of the sentiment of Irishmen in the States. Perhaps, therefore, you will allow me to refer to the personnel of delegates, and mention the names of the persons who are here as delegates from the United States. At the moment in which the division occurred in the Irish Party, we were engaged, as some gentlemen on this platform can avow, and some others also on the other side of the house, we were engaged in the commencement in New York of a movement which promised to raise half-a-million of dollars for the Irish cause. That movement was cut short by division. At the meeting in New York the gentlemen who are here were the accredited messengers from the surrounding cities, and became the instrument of those particular cities to bear the money that was contributed in their different places. For instance, we have here Mr. James Duggan, of Norwich, Conn., who brought to the treasury, on behalf of the National Federation of Norwich, the money collected there. I think that is a fair title to be a representative here. We have Mr. Anthony Kelly, Minneapolis, whose service in the West, and whose social attention and money contribution when Mr. Parnell was there, gained the gratitude and favour of Mr. Parnell and those who accompanied him. We have here Mr. P. W. Wrenn, of Bridgeport, Conn, who at the meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House brought 3,000 or 3,500 dollars to the treasury. We have Mr. Denis O'Reilly, of Boston, and Mr. Edward Tracey, of Boston, who have been in the organisation in Massachusetts, and have been constant friends, and unceasing workers, and generous contributors, according to their means, in the National service. We have here Dr. P. J. Timmins, of Boston, and I couple with him the Reverend Denis O'Callaghan, whose names are a synonym for good work for Ireland; and, as for Father O'Callaghan, he has been the leader in Boston of every public movement organised to aid Ireland. We have here Mr. John Cashman, of Manchester, New Hampshire, who is the treasurer of the organisation in that city, and through whom, from time to time, I got the money collected in the city for your service. We have Mr. Patrick Dunleavy, Vice-President of the National Council of Philadelphia, and need I say that Philadelphia was always foremost in the Irish cause?

We have here Mr. John B. Devlin, of Wilkesbarre, who, to my knowledge, has been a constant, unselfish, and ever energetic worker in the National cause. We have here a gentleman who is a curiosity in his way, and it shows how long he has been in the service. We have Mr. Patrick Cox, of Rochester, who was the treasurer of the first branch of the Irish National League, and through which branch alone 30,000 dollars were raised for the service of Ireland. We have Mr. Patrick Martin, and need I say to Irish Nationalists, whether strictly within the physical force ranks or outside them, who Mr. Patrick Martin is? has been in both sections of the service, and I honour him for it. Now, I think I need not say any more to show that we are not all nobodies. For myself, I represent the certificate of the City Council of the New York Irish National Federation of America, and that title represents something. I do this, Mr. Chairman, not for the purpose of winning your applause or recognition, but to satisfy the minds of those who might possibly give some credence to the statement that we here are

tramps or tourists.

We came here without instructions, except the general one, that we demand unity, obedience to majority rule, and that discipline which is necessary to the existence of the Party, and we will do our best to enforce it. Before leaving the United States we studied very carefully the call for this Convention, both individually and collectively, and it was the general verdict of those most interested and competent in the United States to pass upon it an opinion that it was bound to be a success in its scope and extent. We in the United States have had twenty years' experience of conventions. In the great Race Convention of Philadelphia, held in 1881 or 1882, we had no such great and wide provisions for admission to that assembly. For instance, the clergy had no privileges other than the laymen had. We did not consider them any better as politicians, or that they were entitled to more recognition than the laymen, and when they came they came as delegates. We did not throw it open to all the organisations and literary societies; in fact, not to occupy your time, we demanded that there should be some service to the political movement before the society or organisation should have a right to representation. We had not the great breadth and scope of this Convention. We, therefore, said that there could be no man found who would have the hardihood to assert that this Convention had been rigged. How could it be possible when the sources of this Convention were so varied and so wide? We claim that every Irishman who is honest and singleminded will adhere to the decrees of this Convention, and we think that the constituencies of Ireland should demand obedience from their representatives. It is enough to know that the power is placed in the hands of the people, who are bound by discipline to obey the decrees of this Convention, to make every member of Parliament be very careful in his work. Now, Mr. Chairman, and fellow-delegates, I think that so much has been said on every point to which I could possibly address myself, that I would be only doing a superfluous work, and occupying your time unnecessarily by further speech. I think I have established their right to speak, and I think I have established the character of the delegation.

I desire to say one word more on obedience to majority rule. In

America the question is raised amongst us; it is taken as a law that is unchangeable, and must be accepted. If a man, or men, decide that they cannot obey and be in affiliation with the party of the majority, they quietly go out of that party, and either remain silent or become active opponents on the other side. That is what we expect to find, and do find, in the United States. On coming over here, from the nature of my position in the organisation as secretary, of course I am liable to a very large correspondence-I think I could have brought with me letters enough to have occupied your attention this whole session—every one ending with a prayer for unity and "God bless your 1 ission; give us unity, and demand obedience to majority rule as the very essence of the government of the people." While on this platform to-day, a telegram to me arrived from a gentleman whom we know in New York to be one of the most faithful servants of the movement, and one of its most generous contributors:-- "Sacrifice everything, save honour, for unity; bring about union in Ireland, and America will respond.—Peter M'Donald." Now, Mr. Chairman, the impression created on us has been that this Convention has been called on such a breadth and scope, that it has such a diversity of sources from which the delegates came, that we must naturally conclude that it is the expression of the popular will; and if the gentlemen who tell us it is not will only come here and present their grievances, nobody is more anxious to redress them. If those gentlemen will abandon the whispered mouthings of calumny, and come like stalwart men to the Convention of their fellow-countrymen at home and abroad, present their protests and grievances, how readily we will redress them, if possible. But they are silent! Silent except the whispers of calumny; and to those men we say: "You have refused to come before the only court that was entitled to redress your grievances; you have refused to come before the only court that is entitled to make reforms and changes in the basic condition of the party." No other power in Ireland has a right to change any single article under which the Federation exists in Ireland to-day. Here alone can it be done. In God's name, are these men not intelligent enough to know that. Is not this the place to do it? And failing to do it, let these men be silent. And I say to one class of these gentle-men—and if I did not say it I would be certainly betraying my own convictions and the opinions that I know will be held when I state the facts in America-I say to reverend gentlemen who may have grievances to remedy or protests to make, that this is their place, as well as the place of laymen. No station among the hierarchy is too great or too grand to come before this Convention and say to the people of Ireland represented here: "Such and such are the changes that we believe are necessary for the Irish people." And I tell you, gentlemen, who have watched the experiences of the past, who have learned the misery that followed some of the actions of this class of gentlemen in the past-I tell you that they will make more infidels than all the Agnostics in the world.

Now, Mr. Dillon, you have received a mandate in the first two resolutions adopted at this Convention. It is, by every means in your power, to see to it that the grievances are redressed and reunion restored. That mandate is given to you by the public will of Ireland. We in



From photo by]

ON THE MOORS, GLENCAR, CO. KERRY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

America will look to it that that effort is being made, and that, while yielding nothing to the criticism or calumny of persons who won't come here and declare their grievances, we demand that every effort of yours, and that everything but honour, be sacrificed to restore the unity of the Irish people. It has been my experience just before I left to have had put into my hand a series of letters. Some were from cloistered nuns; some were from the humble miner; some were from gentlemen in possession of great wealth; some came from archbishops, who, as you saw in the first day's publication of the proceedings of this Convention, promised at the holy altar of God that daily would they offer the sacrifice of the Mass for the success of the Convention. And, Mr. Dillon, if the prayers and protests of the Irish people at home and abroad fail to conciliate, then, in the name of the God who stamps upon mankind the distinctions of race, I charge you, as leader of the Irish race, to spare no man who stands in the way. If conciliation fails, if reason fails, if reason and logic are defied, I charge you to mercilessly crush the man or men who stand in the way. In that I pledge you the assistance of every true Nationalist in America, no matter who the man is. The result of all our labours for the past twenty years in the present move ment, and for centuries in the past, shall not be nullified by any man or set of men. We will not consent that our labours and sacrifices, and sufferings of famine and persecution in the past and present and future, should be sacrificed and made nothing of. I swear it is the duty, in my belief, of every Irishman to crush dissension and to crush out the man or men who stand in the way of union. To you, the men of Ireland outside the Irish Party, we charge you, and honestly, to act in this matter with unanimity. If you criticise, let it not be a carping, nagging criticism. Remember the position of your members is a very curious one in the House of Commons; they stand there in your cause, awaiting to meet emergencies that may occur. Individual members may err, but consideration should be extended to them as men, and you must exact discipline-discipline.

The CHAIRMAN put the third resolution as already read. It was

carried unanimously.

The Chairman—Gentlemen, you will consider, I think, I am following the proper course in confining the debate in very narrow limits on the resolutions that follow. There are some notices here sent up by gentlemen who wish to address the Convention. Those notices shall be carefully attended to, but, before we proceed to them or the next resolution, I have to say that the gentleman in whose name the notice of motion stands in reference to the Paris Funds has explained to me that he did not withdraw that part of his resolution; consequently he shall have an opportunity of moving his resolution. And as I stated to this Convention that the leading members of the party were anxious to explain the party's position with reference to the Party funds, I now ask the Hon. Edward Blake to make the promised statement.

Hon. EDWARD BLAKE, M.P.-My lord, ladies and gentlemen, the Irish Parliamentary Party, owing to the unhappy circumstances which have for so long a time so unnaturally divorced from the people and the popular cause the greater proportion of the wealth and of the opportunities for acquiring wealth to be found within this island, the National

Party is labouring under the disadvantage, if it be a disadvantage, of being and of acknowledging that it is relatively to English political parties a poor party in worldly wealth. There are amongst us those whose circumstances and exertions have enabled or enable them to offer gratuitous services to the country which they love. And there are amongst us also those who submit to a still greater sacrifice in the interest of that country, because they have foregone the opportunities and chances of their lives-the opportunities which their own exertions, directed to their own advancement, would have produced to them-in order to execute the somewhat thankless office of serving their country at Westminster. I say that the sacrifices of those men, from the worldly point of view, are not comparable in point of lightness with the sacrifices of those who are able to afford gratuitous service, and that their position should be considered with a generosity, a chivalry, a respect greater than that which is due to those who may happen to be better off in the accident of the possession of worldly dross. The Irish Party in Parliament, though a poor party, is an independent and self-respecting party. It has held its head high—as high, and deservedly high, as the parties with which are associated wealth and rank. And those of us who entertain, as my colleagues with whom I generally act do entertain, very strong views upon the subject of the management of the party funds, entertain them largely and mainly with reference to the respectability and independence of the position which the Irish Party ought to have in Parliament, in order that it may do its duty to the country which its represents. The Irish Party provides for the distribution or allotment amongst its own members of the funds entrusted to the party itself for distribution, and is its own paymaster. And I do not believe it to be consistent with the independence and self-respect of that party, as a whole, or of individual members of that party, who may be in the position to which I have alluded, that any other body or set of men-chosen by I care not whom, and holding their power I care not from what source—should be the paymaster of one or more or any number of my colleagues in Parliament. We do not want to degenerate into a kept party. We do not want to degenerate into a party to any one of whose members it may be said in this island, or, still worse, outside this island, at Westminster: "You owe your stipend to some committee sitting in Ireland-selected and chosen I know not how, and holding office by I know not what tenure. Unless you follow the orders of that committee, and obey their voice, your stipend will be cut off for your independence." You tell me that it has been said that the independence of Irish members is threatened by the system and the arrangements whereby the payment of those who require to be maintained in Westminster is worked. If that be so, I want to know how much less the independence of that party will be threatened by those members owing the determination of that question to a committee outside, in Ireland or elsewhere. They are men, and being men of like dispositions to our own, they are animated by the same prejudices and feelings, and would find themselves under the same difficulties, and you would only transfer the area of unworthy contention and suspicion to some other quarter. You would by no means eliminate it by the change some, as I think, improvidently suggest.

I have known very little, though I have known. I dare say, quite as much as anybody else, of how this matter was managed during the last four years in detail, because the old customs and practices which had been established before the split commenced, were observed as rigorously as possible. Treasurers were appointed, to whom sums were handed in the gross, and they alone knew how much was paid to any, and to which, members of the party. To the party at large, to the committee of the party, that knowledge was not communicated. It may be thought the system requires reconsideration within the councils of the party. I am inclined to believe that the system which answered admirably so long as unworthy suggestions were not made, so long as the honour of the Irish Party was not assailed within its own ranks, so long as suspicions were not flung broadcast-suspicions which never ought to have been entertained—unworthy suspicions, suspicions which, if there were any foundation for them, would render my friends near me, and every man who takes a part in this struggle, unworthy of any place in the councils of the nation, or the party, or its ranks-so long as these suspicions were not thrown out, the old plan might have been, as it has been, left to operate. Some change in detail may be, and I incline to think is, required under the new rule of casting aspersion wholesale upon every man charged with responsibility, but that any rule or change can be made which shall divest the Irish Parliamentary Party from the control and responsibility of the management of its own funds, and which shall yet be consistent with retention of self-respect and independence I, for my part, utterly deny. If you trust the Irish Party in Parliament with the most sacred interests of your country, if you trust them, as you do by electing them to Parliament, with the whole business and the affairs of Ireland, if you say to them, "We trust you to decide in the stress and strain of Parliamentary conflict, and in the greatest difficulties-the lines it is best to take for Ireland, we trust you and we follow you," is it not absurd and foolish to say you cannot trust the men whom you trust with these enormous interests to observe the commonest dictates of honesty, fair play, and decency in the distribution of the funds which you give for the support of the party?

I did not think when I joined the Irish Parliamentary Party, in

I did not think when I joined the Irish Parliamentary Party, in whatever rough work it might be my duty to engage, that I should ever personally have anything to do with the collection of funds for their maintenance. It has been, however, my duty during the last four years—in that constant, unceasing dissension, and under the suspicions engendered by the aspersions, and the unworthy statements propagated through the country—it has been in some small part my duty to help, as far as I could amongst my friends and the supporters of the cause abroad, to supply the Parliamentary Party with the necessary funds. I tell you, then, that after this unexpected duty devolved upon me, my friends—and you see what sort of friends Home Rule has in Canada—my friends, making some collections in that country for the purpose, remitted them to me personally, telling me to dispose of them as I myself thought best in the furtherance of the Irish cause. So convinced was I that there was but one appropriate method of disposing of the contributions of the friends of Ireland that I declined to take the slightest responsibility as to their disposition. I said, "I will hand

them over to the Party itself, to be dealt with by the Party itself according to its rules and regulations. I shall never be a party to the degradation and loss of self-respect and independence of the Irish Parliamentary Party involved in the confession of its incapacity to be fair and just and honest and decent in the administration of its moneys," and I say, if we can't do that we are not fit to serve you in those infi-

nitely greater concerns.

Now, I have known something of these most painful and degrading controversies, and I have watched as carefully as man could watch what the true course of events has been, and I declare to you upon my honour that I am as satisfied as that I am standing here that there has never been the slightest foundation in fact for the suggestion-the base suggestion-that any man has been mean enough to consider for one moment the complexion and opinions upon subjects of Party differences of any member in his relation to the Party funds. I don't believe that even my bitterest opponent will charge me, dissociated as I was necessarily with many of the rancours of the past, with any ill-feeling, and I know that every man with whom I have been connected is as absolutely free and entirely above any sordid and unworthy action as I feel myself that I am. My lord, this Convention has evidenced its determination to give a renewed mandate of confidence to its faithful servants who have endeavoured to hold aloft the flag of Ireland in the stress and strain of the conflict—the flag not only torn and tattered in that conflict, but also, alas! besmeared by mud and filth cast on it by those who should be the last to soil it. This Convention has determined to hold up and strengthen their hands, and I am well assured that after this short explanation of the reasons why we felt bound to invite confidence in this as in other respects, there will be no dissenting voice here to the proposition that the Irish Parliamentary Party ought to be in this, as in other respects, trusted to do its duty subject to that account, in case malversation is charged and proved against it, to which every representative of the people ought to be subject, and to which we are fully willing to submit.

Mr. Michael Davitt, M.P.—My lord bishop, ladies and gentlemen,

Mr. MICHAEL DAVITT, M.P.—My lord bishop, ladies and gentlemen, the fourth resolution which I have the honour to submit for your adop-

tion reads as follows :-

"That, while hailing with satisfaction the release of some of the Irish political prisoners, we are indignant that relief has come so late, after their health had been broken by long years of suffering. We condemn the brutal treatment which England, while boasting herself to be the advance guard of freedom amongst the nations, inflicts on political prisoners sentenced for offences arising out of Irish grievances. We mark the contrast in feeling and in action exhibited by England towards the Irish prisoners, and towards other political offenders, as, for instance, the Johannesburg Committee and the Jameson Raiders. We call for the immediate liberation of all the remaining Irish political prisoners still enduring the horrors of penal servitude, and we request the Irish Parliamentary representatives to press with insistent urgency for their liberation."

I say, ladies and gentlemen, that it is not altogether inappropriate that I should have been asked to submit this resolution to this great Convention. We demand a response to the prayer of this resolution on grounds and for reasons which would not be denied to-day by any other civilised nation throughout the world. The sentences in themselves were monstrous in the first instance, while the punishment inflicted upon



From photo by]

THE GAP OF DUNLOE, KHLARNEY.

IV. Laurence, Dublin.

these men could not be equalled in cruelty by even the Russian despot who sends his foes to Siberian mines. There is an instinct of humanity common to every created being which prompts a man to give food even to a hungry dog. But it is left for England, enlightened singland, to include semi-starvation in the system of punishment she metes out to her Irish political foes. I have undergone over nine years' improvement ment, because I have been a rebel against misgovernment from the moment I was first taught that, next to my duty to God was my do to Irish liberty, and I say here to-day that during seven long years of that imprisonment, under England's system of punishment, I never for one hour ceased to feel the pangs of hunger. God has made man a talking being, but England insists that silence, perpetual silence, shall be enforced on her Irish political foes, no matter how long their brutal sentences may have been, and the men-the few men-who were turned out the other day to die by England's magnanimous Tory Government -ave, but I hope not before they will help us to settle accounts with Ireland's brutal rulers-believe it, fellow-delegates, or not, I assert here to-day that during the thirteen long years that John Daly and Dr. Gallagher and others have been kept in England's prison pens it was a crime against England's rulers to say "good morning" or "good evening" to a fellow-being undergoing the same brutal punishment. England has had to beg for elemency and justice for incriminated Englishmen from President Kruger. Ireland demands through this Convention of the

Irish race that the remaining Irish political prisoners shall be liberated.

Mr. WILLIAM LUNDON, Kilteely, Co. Limerick—My lord bishop and brother delegates from all parts of the world as far as the Irish race has extended, I feel highly privileged in being called upon to address you on this question of amnesty, so dear to all your hearts. No cuestion spoken of at this great assembly catches a greater hold of you hearts, or the hearts of the Irish race throughout the world, than the question of amnesty. Some people might say there was a vast difference in the various phases of the National movement, as evidenced by moral force and physical force. I say the cause has been the same for the last seven hundred years, though it may have presented itself in different shapes. It has been like a kaleidoscope, at one time moral force, at another time physical force, and so on, but in whatever way it presented itself it was Ireland first, Ireland centre, and Ireland last. We all know that only for the Crowleys, the Davitts, the O'Briens, and the others, we would not have been able to carry on the moral agitation of the last fifteen years. I also feel proud to speak on this question of amnesty, because I was the companion of dear John Daly. We stood side by side on platforms in the old amnesty movement of '69. He and I often differed, but no matter what our differences may have been in detail, I tell you, if you had one hundred thousand men of John Daly's calibre with arms in their hands, it would be easy for you to obtain Home Rule. I was present at the first meeting in the city of Limerick when this present movement was organised, and I was present at meetings in Tipperary, including the great amnesty demonstration held in that town. want to say anything contentious. However, there is one matter I would like to put before you. I refer now to about two years before

the split I was the very man who proposed that Mr. Parnell should be invited to the great demonstration we were going to hold with reference to amnesty. He may have been a great man as a leader, but I tell you his heart was not bent on amnesty. In addition to him, other gentlemen were invited to attend, and I may tell you that not from one of them did we receive even a single reply, except a negative one that was not worth Mr. Davitt has told you that his own experience of prison life was a hard one. I wish to tell you also that my experience of prison life was hard enough. I was imprisoned, under Eager, in Limerick. I was afterward taken to Mountjoy, and subsequently I graduated under the Old Gorilla at Kilmainham. I say that in whatever agitation you have before you, you will always have the amnesty question to the front, and I believe we will all leave it as a legacy to those who come after us. As regards our representation at Westminster there is no use in specious arguments there. If the Irish Party is united, and has the Irish people solid at its back, it will be able to get anything it wants, but otherwise you will get nothing, and they will look upon you as slaves. Dr. Gallagher and Mr. Whitehead and those other men are now nearly oblivious of what they went through. They have been simply driven into madness. There is not on God's earth a more efficacious way of driving a man to madness than the mode described by Mr. Davitt-the silent system. Man is a gregarious animal, and he must herd with his neighbours, and if he has to live in solitary confinement the ordinary man sinks to the level of the beast. Englishmen have gone down on their knees to implore President Kruger to release the men who invaded a free country to deprive a people of their rights. They went in, if not for that purpose, they went in simply to rob. The English have robbed the whole of the world, and nobody felt the truth of that more than the Irish people. Look at how France treated her political prisoners. They did acts revolting to humanity during the Commune. They killed afty priests and the sainted Archbishop D'Arboy, and all these men were now released. It was said the Liberal Government did not release the political prisoners. Well, the Tories would not release them until they saw that they could not disregard the condition they were in. I knew a case in Mountjoy Prison when I was there, and when the doctor at Mountjoy Prison said the man should be released they had three military doctors in to know whether they could keep the man in jail another month. We are here to ask for the release of the remaining political prisoners, the Land League prisoners, the Invincibles and others, and I hope you will never lorget in this matter the names that adorn your walls, of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien.

Very Rev. D. O'Hara, P.P., Kiltimagh—My lord and fellow delegates, I have only to say as a delegate, and for my fellow-delegates, that we longed to see this day. We have seen it, and we are glad. We began the Convention well; we began it with an Irish prayer; we had the blessing of the Pope; and we have an Irish Bishop in the chair. We are bound to succeed on these conditions, and, from the honest faces I see before me, I think it won't be your fault if we don't. I have been asked to say a few words in favour of amnesty, and I will say this much, that I think we ought to be prepared to set the example, and to give a general amnesty all round to every man, to every Irishman, no matter

what he may have done in the past, provided that he comes into the fold and says that he will fight once more for the sacred cause of our country. We are here assembled, on a most solemn occasion, to help on the good old cause. In the name of the delegates that are here, priests and laymen, I venture to make bold and to proclaim a general amnesty to every man. Let them come, and we have

"A hand for the grasp of friendship,"

and it may be well to know that we have

"A hand to make them quake, And they're welcome to whichsover It pleases them best to take."

The Irish nation is met here in council. It is the most historic and the most representative meeting of Irishmen that was ever held on Irish soil, and there is not a delegate here, no matter from what part of the world he came, who is not proud, and will for ever feel proud, that he is one of those who came to settle the affairs of Ireland. We came to discharge a solemn duty, the most solemn that man could discharge. We are able to tell the delegates who have come here from distant lands that the Old Guard are true to the old cause of Ireland, and that Ireland stands to the front as ever she did before. Though it is too much to expect that we could be all absolutely united, we can assure them that the country is practically united. I only wish to endorse the observations of Mr. Davitt on the sufferings of the political prisoners. I cannot, I am sorry to say, claim that I have experience of the sufferings of prison life, but this I can boast of-that I was the first priest in Ireland marked out for imprisonment. It was not my fault then, for I never yielded one inch. I would say to cur delegates in this assembly that our proceedings here show that Ireland is a country worth fighting for, for we are no ites, but Irishmen, and whatever little mites might stand in our way, all we need is a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether to achieve our rights. We mean to do our duty. Wewill do our best at home; we are bound to do it, and we ask the American and other delegates to back us up. We will help ourselves, no matter who helps us; we will fight, no matter how few are left; and as a priest from America eloquently put it, no matter how few they are, as long as there are three Irishmen left we will fight for the good old cause. There are not three, but three thousand in this hall, priests and laymen, united as ever in the old cause, and, please God, when we go home we will tell the other priests, and his lordship, perhaps, may tell the bishops. All may agree in this, that at all events the Irish Party must get fair play-nobody must stand in the march of the nation. It wants the help of every man, and, please God, from the highest bishop in the land to the humblest curate, from the highest layman to the poorest living on the mountain side, we will all unite once more, we will dress our ranks, and we will march on to victory.

The CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, I shall soon propose a more rapid way of getting through the other resolutions, and I would put this resolution to you now were it not that a very distinguished American priest, Father Phillips, of Pennsylvania, has a word to say.

Rev. E. S. Phillips, Luzerne Co., Pennsylvania—I did not intend

to add one word to the few remarks that I made on the opening day of the Convention, but I was so much pleased by the sentiment conveyed by the last speaker in regard to general amnesty, when he said that the Irish delegates, priests, and people, were sending to America a feeling of unity, not only towards the men who belong to their regular party in Ireland, but to those who differ, a general amnesty. I wish to say on behalf of the American delegates that our principal is in America that "more flies are caught by molasses than by vinegar." A few days before I left my home I had the pleasure of spending a delightful hour with a priest of the diocese of Raphoe, which is represented in so magnificent a manner by his lordship, our chairman, and he said to me, which I now see verified, "that if Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe would consent to be present at the Convention, his spirit of true Irish Nationality will dominate the Convention, and a good result must come." Now, gentlemen, one of the speakers from America, representing the Irish National Federation, has given practical proof of the Irish-American loyalty to Ireland by the statement he has made of the contributions of Americans. as well as of Irish-Americans, and of Irishmen who have adopted America as their home, to the Irish cause. But he made a remark with which I must in part disagree, that is, that America expects the honourable chairman if he cannot rule, to crush. Fourteen years ago I sat and worked with Mr. Dillon in America, when he visited that country with the late Mr. Parnell, whose soul, I am glad to say, is still marching on. But I think that it is well for parties to remember that men have opinions, and that these opinions are sometimes honestly expressed; therefore, that the sense of this Convention is, I believe, that we extend the olive branch to these men still, and I do not think that it is beneath the dignity of the regular Irish National Party, through its chairman, or in a body to make an appeal.

Mr. Dillon was understood to make some remark.

I wish, therefore, as the honourable chairman says "Yes," I wish to state on behalf of America, on behalf of the greater Ireland here represented, that we are all united in believing that the Irish Party now represented by the present chairman, is the party of Ireland. Let me recall a sentiment which I remember being uttered by the honourable chairman at a banquet somewhere in London last March, which electrified me and thrilled me. He said, and with this I will close my remarks, as the sense of this Convention, as the sense of the people who are not here, but who should be, the sense which I hope they will experience after the thoughtful words that have been uttered on this platform, and which now comes from my heart—this language of Mr. Dillon's was this, "If I can but add a sentiment to 'Ireland a Nation' it is, the 'Nationalists of Ireland all over the world united.'"

The CHAIRMAN—I consider resolution G is pertinent to the next resolution, 5. I consider the second part of the resolution O is pertinent to the sixth resolution in this series. I consider that the fourth part of the resolution O is germane to the tenth resolution of the series, and now the procedure I intend to follow it this: Mr. Kilbride will propose these resolutions in globo and they will be seconded and supported.*

^{*} For text of all these resolutions see conclusion of proceedings.



DR. PATRICK JOSEPH TIMMINS. (See pp. 145, 308.)



REV. JOHN SCANLAN. (See pp. 147, 313)



JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P. (See p. 150.)



MISS M'GRANE.
(Designer of Delegate's Certificate.)

Mr. Denis Kilbride, M.P.—I have been requested to move this resolution dealing with the land:—

"That the Irish landlord system and methods have tended to impoverish, exterminate, and expel the Irish race, and have thus been the fruitful source of misery, discontent, violence, and disturbance in Ireland. That the last Land Act, whist bettering the condition of certain classes, fails to give the vast majority of the Irish tenantry that security against excessive rents and confiscation of improvements which is essential to their well-being, and to the success of any scheme of land purchase; fails to give necessary powers for the enlargement of too small holdings by the compulsory purchase of grass lands from which the people have been driven; and fails to make adequate provision for the restoration to their homes of the evicted tenants, to whose courage and endurance such benefits as the farmers of Ireland have obtained are largely due, and whose case must ever appeal to the sense of honour and gratitude of their fellow-countrymen. We condemn the lateness of the period and the shortness of the time allowed for discussion, and the indecent threats of withdrawal, by which legitimate debate was curtoiled; and we declare that the Act cannot be accepted even as a temporary settlement, and that the only hope of the tenantry rests in a united and determined Parliamentary Party, backed by a great agaraina combination, watching the operation of the Land Laws, exposing cases of injustice, and demanding a full measure of reform."

Unfortunately we as Irishman know that this question of the land is a very vital one. The first portion of that resolution is that the land system in Ireland has impoverished our people, and is a system of confiscation. At the door of that system in Ireland may be laid the fact that the foreign delegates amongst us are the sons of men that the accursed land laws drove from their country. The resolution deals with the last Land Bill—it deals with the Bill passed this session by the Tory Government-and the resolution asks the people of Ireland, and especially the tenant farmers of Ireland, to boldly declare in the face of the world that they do not, and will not, and cannot accept this Land Bill as a settlement of the Irish Land Question. I want your delegates to tell the authors of this Bill, to tell the Solicitor-General for Ireland and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that you repudiate the Bill and repudiate the men. We never went so far as to say the Bill was an utter fraud or a sham. We admitted all the time that there were provisions in it which brought relief to a certain class of tenants; but we said, and we say again, that this Bill brings no relief to the vast body of the Irish tenant farmers. But this Bill to my mind should be refused and rejected by any body of Irish farmers or by any body of justice-loving men. What does this Bill do? The clause of this loving men. What does this Bill do? Bill which deals with improvements enacts that the labourerwho has expended the money, the man who has reclaimed the land, is not entitled to the full value of his labour. I say that when a tenant-farmer improves his holding, the value of that labour has increased the letting value, and adds to the value of the holding. But this Bill says that the whole of the increased value—the whole of the value of your labour—is not to be your property, that you are to have in the first instance a certain recognition for it-a certain percentage which this Bill does not define, but leaves it to the idiosyncrasies, the whims, and the fancies of a body of the Land Commissioners. After it gives you a certain percentage on the value of your improvements this Bill then says that any further increased value should be divided between the landlord and the tenant. Our main objection to this Bill is that it does not give full recognition to the improvements of the tenants, and the only final settlement of the Land question can be the purchase system, under which you will not be obliged to buy your own property, and will be obliged to pay for nothing but what is

the property of others.

Rev. Mr. LYTTLE, Moneyrea-My lord and gentlemen, I am proud to stand on this platform and to take my side with my fellow-countrymen in the advocacy of Home Rule, and second the resolution. inclined to speak on this land question, but I am sure you don't wish any technical details, so I shall only say a word or two as to how the land question affects in the province of Ulster the great cause which has brought us all here-the cause of self-government for Ireland. I believe, gentlemen, that already there are economic forces at work which will make the Unionists of Ulster shift their present political moorings. We remember that during the last century economic tyranny and pressure paved the way for the work of the reformers who marshalled the Volunteers and United Irishmen among the planters of Ulster. Commercial restrictions which ruined the Protestant planters of Ulster during the last century helped Henry Grattan and his co-workers in influencing the minds of the Ulstermen. The seeds of patriotism sown in the minds of the people of the North in due time brought forth splendid fruit in the Volunteer movement and the '98 party. Well, at the present time I have no hesitation in saying that the majority of the Ulster farmers are on the verge of bankruptcy. Wages have risen, and are still rising, and God forbid that any of us should do anything to deprive the labourer of his hire. Prices are falling, and will continue to fall. Now, we know that the Irish farmers must keep a grip of their holdings. mers, Unionists though they be at the present moment, will be forced, in order to save themselves, to help to save their country. So, for this reason, I have no hesitation in saying that the time will yet come when Ulster will take her place at last, her proper place, in the very vanguard of the struggle for self-government and prosperity for Ireland. I have the honour, my lord, to speak on behalf of the Liberal and National Union of Ulster. May I be permitted to inform this great Convention of our race that this is a comparatively new organisation—an organisation that already is nearly 2,000 in number, made up in its vast majority of those belonging to the various Protestant denominations? But you will be glad to hear that the old narrowness has left us entirely, and that Roman Catholics are numbered among our most honoured members, and that Catholic and Protestant representatives from our body are here at this Convention to-day. Well, we know of at least 10,000 Protestants of the province of Ulster who are already in sympathy with the cause of self-government, and we aim at making this merely the nucleus of a great Protestant army-a great Protestant auxiliary in the army of Irish patriotism. But our efforts have been neutralised by the dissensions which disgrace our cause. We came here to this great Convention of our race because the doors have been opened to us, and because of a hope that this Convention might show the Irish people which way victory lies, and I, for one, feel that much has been done already. now remains for the constituencies to accomplish the great end which we all have in view. I am not going into particulars, but I will say this,

that we in the North, who have taken this stand, hope that the movement will be kept pure and noble. We hope that those at the head of it will set the noble example of magnanimity, of toleration, and let the world see that there is a great moral force in this movement. We cannot win by numbers, but we hope we shall win by the moral force of our cause. What would be the good of victory if we had not this great moral force? Ours is not a dream of a small kingdom. I trust that our National ideal is not merely a great material thing—not merely that our people shall be fixed as rocks in their native soil, not merely that they shall enjoy material prosperity and the blessings of freedom-but also that they shall be illustrious in purity and nobility of public life, and glorious in the culture of literature, science, and art. This ought to be our ideal, and I hope it is. My lord, in conclusion, allow me to say, as an Irishman in whose veins runs a mingled tide of Celtic and Teutonic blood, that I am proud to stand here on this platform as an Irishman. I have devoted some of the energies of my life in recent years to the effort to make men sink distinctions of creed and party in the common designation of Irishmen. Allow me further to say, as a Protestant, and also, my lord, as an Ulsterman, born and reared in all the traditions of our province, that I am proud to speak on this platform under your distinguished presidency. He is a poor, misled man, indeed, whatever may be his race or creed, who is not proud to associate with a man bearing the honoured name of a clan which in Ireland's past history rushed to glorious battle so often and so well in the service of Irish freedom. Once again Ireland has gone into battle with the glorious war-cry, "O'Donnell Aboo."

Mr. THOMAS DUFFY, County Delegate for Longford-Mylord bishop, rev. fathers, and ladies and gentlemen, I have heard a distinguished clergyman say a few minutes ago he would not pass the time limit, you may be quite sure I won't pass the time limit, but coming as a member of the Central Council of the Federation, I think I would not be doing my duty if I did not say a word on behalf of the county I represent, I come from a county represented by the distinguished Mr. Blake, I come from a county represented by the father of the Irish Parliamentary Party-Justin M'Carthy-and you will permit me on behalf of Ireland to return our sincere thanks to the foreign delegates who have come here to settle this petty dispute amongst Irishmen. We are here assembled in council, the greatest assembly of Irishmen, perhaps, that ever assembled in Dublin before. I always held it as a motto, and I hold it to-day, that majority rule must be obeyed. I am not at all surprised, If I am the oldest delegate in this great assembly, for I wore the badge of O'Connell on my breast when I was in the cradle, and what I say to the delegates is to go home and do their duty in organising their counties. Let us stand loyal and firm, shoulder to shoulder, determined to fight out to

the bitter end, and Home Rule will be the glorious result.

Mr. David Doran, Vice-chairman of the Kenmare Board of Guardians—My lord and representatives of that old race that seven centuries of oppression and tyranny could not stamp out—I rejoice in this Parliament of our race, first since ninety years, to speak on behalf of the unfortunate evicted tenants who are mentioned in the resolution before you. When the unfortunate strife amongst Irishmen commenced,

and when the Prisoner of Tuliamore was laid aside and was prevented from fighting for the unfortunate evicted tenants together with the Chairman of the Parliamentary Party, the evicted tenants have been since suffering privation, want, and misery, owing to this miserable strife. A meeting was held within the past week in the city of Dublin by the exterminators of our race for the purpose of trying-now that the second time for fixing the rents in the Land Courts has come-to secure that the reductions will be so small that the unfortunate Irish farmer will be starved. The unfortunate Irish farmer will be forced to part with his little girl and his little boy, and let them go to foreign countries to seek the bread that they ought to be able to earn in the land of their birth. You know that the only industry we have in Ireland is the land. Since Strongbow came over the unfortunate tiller of the soil has been robbed of his right in the land, the proceeds of which have gone into the pockets of a wortless class to spend in Paris and in the dens of London. The unfortunate tenants appeal to you. The strife in the Irish Party robbed them of friends and of the means of getting back to their homes, and the evicted tenants throughout Ireland and the farmers of the South and West look for the glorious day when union is restored once more in the Irish ranks. Go back and organise. Stand together in your own districts and parishes, band yourselves into one great organisation that will conquer landlordism, and be the means of planting the old flag on the Old House in College Green.

Mr. G. J. LYNSKEY, Liverpool-I would not intervene at this hour but I think that the action of the Irish people in Liverpool deserves that their voice should be heard at this Convention. In every movement, whether constitutional or otherwise, the Irishmen of Liverpool have been in the forefront of it. We look upon it as the Capital of Ireland in England. We come here to-day to deliver one message, and speaking the unanimous voice of the Irish people of that city, I say that we come here for the purpose of supporting, maintaining, and helping majority rule and discipline in the Irish Party. I shall not dwell upon the questions that are coming before you, because I intend to be particularly brief. We feel that dissension has paralysed our action in England. We feel that dissension has deprived us of the support of men that ought to be in our ranks. We feel that dissension has disgusted Irish people who are always ready to support Ireland's demands, and we ask the Irish people at home that they should have union, and that they should have discipline. We care not whether they shall get it by toleration or by conciliation, but get it by any means is what we demand. We have the honour, the distinguished honour of returning an Irish representative to the Imperial Parliament. You, yesterday, heard his eloquent tongue and his fearless speech; but I say on behalf of our people, that if he was against the majority of the Irish Party, no matter how great his tongue, no matter how great his services, we would not stand him one hour. We would not tolerate him for one hour unless he was prepared to stand by union, to stand by discipline, and stand by majority rule. I don't suggest to you how you should deal with those who are against that rule, but I tell you how we should deal with them. I tell you how we should deal with our representative, proud as we are of his distinguished ability, and I say the



From photo by] SOUT

SOUTHERN HOTEL, CARAGH LAKE, CO. KERRY. [W. Lawrence, Dublin.

THIRD DAY-MR. QUIN: REV. DR. FLANNERY. 305

Irish people of Liverpool would not tolerate Mr. O'Connor to stand against union, to stand against discipline, or to stand against support to the chairman of his party constitutionally elected. We have a very difficult task in England. You in Ireland have not the same sacrifices to make. Even in America, in Australia, in Africa, and other places, to be an Irishman, to be a Nationalist Irishman, does not prevent one from being successful in the world. In England it means boycotting, notwithstanding that, we have as true, as earnest, and as patriotic a body of men as ever left Ireland's shores. What we come to say to you is this:—" For God's sake close up your ranks and be united once more." If you cannot heal up your differences by reconciliation, then, in the last resort make an appeal to the const tuencies. No man has the right to stand between Ireland and her onward progress; and I say to you, as you stand together united in Ireland, helping and assisting each other, that we, in Liverpool, will stand by you until we are driven to the last

ditch in the cruse of Home Rule.

Mr. Alphonsus Quin, of Arboe, said-My lord and gentlemen, I wish to say a few words. I have been a Parnellite up to very lately, but seeing this tremendous struggle going on, this great battle going on amongst ourselves, I did not see any reason why I would not come to this Convention, and, by my presence, support the resolution which was carried yesterday. This great Convention has been called, and its doors have been thrown open to everybody, and I think it would be a great medium to ask the Parnellites to join. What do they want to stand outside for? I cannot see. I admired Parnell. I can also admire the great ability of Mr. Redmond, but what does he want but Home Rule and the land for the people? What more does he want? I was glad to hear Mr. Dillon say that he was prepared to throw over his position for the sake of unity. I may say I am a farmer myself, but I do not agree with Mr. Kilbride that the Land Act may not be of some use to The courts will be open, and the people cannot be prevented from going into them. What we want now, as soon as the fifteen years have expired, is to go into the courts and get our rents reduced fifty per cent. That would be a pretty fair reduction. I would ask the farmers what will they do when the courts are open. years ago I heard the cry, "Don't go into the Land Courts." But how can you keep the people out when they are bent down by starvation? If the tenants go into the courts and get their rents reduced, they will be better able to fight the landlords. It will give you a strong hand, and

when you get Home Rule you will have plenty of money.

Rev. Dr. Flannery, St. Thomas, Canada—I am one of the last of the Canadian representatives, and I think you may easily see by my countenance that though I come here from Canada, I am not a Canadian. I had the distinguished honour of being born in the County Tipperary. For the last five years of my life I have been working on the prairies, and along the Canadian lakes, and on the borders of the great Niagara. During all that time I have had experience of Home Rule—Home Rule for Canadians—an absolute necessity for that country; Home Rule for Australia—an absolute necessity for that country—yes, Home Rule for every country but Ireland. The British Government have allowed us Home Rule and self-government for every one of the seven provinces.

which enables us to promote the prosperity and industries of the country. It is difficult to understand why Great Britain should grant self-government to almost every portion of her dominions and refuse it to the most intelligent people on the face of the earth. We have sent you from Canada, money, and, as Father Ryan said on the morning of the opening of the Convention, we sent you a man. We sent you that great, grand man, the Hon. Edward Blake. Men have been trying to asperse his character and to impugn his motives, but we have known Mr. Blake from his boyhood, because he grew in our midst. It was asked down in the County Tipperary, about four or five years ago when I came to visit my relatives: "Did not this man, Mr. Blake, come over to look for office, and to get office under Gladstone?" "What nonsense," I said, "that man is above anything that Gladstone could offer him," and so he is, for if he liked he would be to-day Prime Minister of Canada, instead of his friend Mr. Laurier. Mr. Blake is a man who has an immense practice as a lawyer, and he had a retaining fee of 20,000 dollars a year from the great Pacific Railway, which unites the two oceans, the Pacific and the Atlantic.

Mr. BLAKE-No, no.

Rev. Dr. FLANNERY—Mr. Blake left Canada because he wished to steve men like Davitt and Dillon in working for Ireland. He came here to stand in the gap and work for Ireland until you have succeeded in getting the restoration of the old Parliament in College Green.

Mr. J. B. Devlin, Pennsylvania—I esteem it a great honour to be called on to address this Convention. I have come from the land beyond the seas where we have Home Rule in all sincerity. We are the spokesmen of the prosperity and the progress of that country, which was the outcome of the principle that you demand to have adopted, Home Rule for Ireland, and we are the bearers of a message to Great Britain, that so long as she continues to rule Ireland as at present, not only does she act unwisely but tyrannically. The road of patriotism is a rough and rugged path, but it has a goal which is worth striving for. In America we have a sharp and swift way of dan'ng with a traitor to his political party. We ignore the man who becomes a renegade from his party. They are put aside, and are known as "Dead Ducks." Since I left the country there was no movement for the advantage of Ireland that I did not do my utmost to serve, and we on the other side of the Atlantic have been unselfish, and have made sacrifices in support of the cause of Ireland.

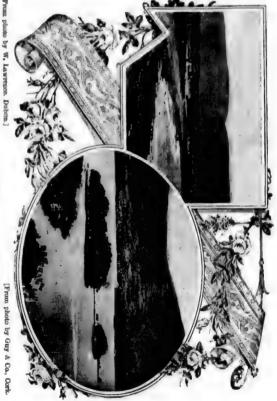
Mr. Charles Herron, South Derry, said that he hailed from a constituency in the North of Ireland which had played an important part in the struggle of the last fifteen years. The people of South Derry were tolerant of no faction. They had shown that in two important and trying crises. At the time of the great fall of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Healy put into their hands the weapons with which they fought Parnell—the issue of the independence and the sacred interests of the country—and they chose the interests of the country, and with sorrow put aside Mr. Parnell. Little did they think then that a second crisis would arise when they would be obliged to use these same arguments against Mr. Healy. The speaker continuing, said—South Derry was indebted to Mr. Healy, but yet, when it came to the question of the country's interests or Mr. Healy's interests, we stood a second time by the country. If the rest of

Mr. DAVITT —His lordship desires me to read the following telegram:

"Two thousand Irishmen join heart and soul wishing God-speed, unity, peace. TYNAN, Rector, Farnworth, Lancashire."

Mr. JOHN M'KEOWN, Q.C., St. Catherine's, Canada-It is with some diffidence that I rise so late in the day to address an audience so vast as this which has been for some time engaged in such serious deliberation. I come here with my fellow delegates from Canada, and I do not desire to take up the time of this meeting by going over the ground which they so clearly, so forcibly, and so eloquently put before you. have simply to say that so far as the district from which I come, St. Catherine's, where Dean Harris is the parish priest, is concerned, we are united as one man in standing by the chairman of the Parliamentary Party, no matter who that man may be. I have only to tell you this, that from Halifax to Vancouver, from north to south of the great Dominion of Canada, the Irish Catholics and the Irish Liberals will follow and support by their voice and their purse any man that Edward Blake will follow and support. I have confidence in him; I know him from boyhood; we have been fellow students and life-long friends, and we feel that when Edward Blake can follow a leader chosen by the Parliamentary Party that the whole dominion of Canada, so far as the Liberals and Home Rulers are concerned, will follow him without asking who he is. I will promise that the district from which I come will stand true to the cause of Home Rule and for the benefit of Ireland. Mr. Blake, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, both of them know that we in that section of the country have shown our good-will by the contributions we collected, Dean Harris and myself, and transmitted to Mr. Blake. I have no desire to take up all the time allowed me. All I say is that it surprises me as an old campaigner, who has fought side by side with Mr. Blake in the past, following him as a leader, to hear the question of majorityrule called even into question. It is with us as an accepted maxim that every man in the party when he goes into caucus or counsel gives his opinion, and if the majority is against him he bows, and is loyal in the ranks.

Dr. Timmins, Broadway, South Boston-Ladies and gentlemen, a moment or two ago, at the solicitation of a few friends, I permitted my name to be handed in on condition that the water of your mill was running dry. Now, I do not see any evidence of that, and I think that Boston has been heard sufficiently of late. Consequently, I shall not trespass on your time at any length. From the other side of the ocean we are unanimous in our hope and belief that there should be unanimity on this side also. Perhaps, if we lived within the confines of your small isle, closeness to the objects you have to look at might also obscure our vision, and we might act wrongly, as many of the inhabitants of this country have acted. You know it is said the ment to the view." We have determined t listance lends enchant-'ority rule shall prevail. Why should it not be so? Why should r najority govern in all well-constituted and legally-constituted bodies : In America we have a homely phrase that "the dog wags the tail-not the tail the dog," and therefore we take it that the majority should be more than the minority. "Two heads are better than one," and, a fortiori, many heads are better than a few. What is the difficulty in this question? A kindly invitation has been extended to all dissentient factions, and yet they had not put in an appearance. Did they need to have a gilt-edged card on a silver plate lined with gold presented to each of them? Gentlemen, these persons were suffering from what is known in America as "swelled head." Why should not the majority rule? We cannot understand it, and I am sure you will agree that the majority here should rule, especially as the head of your majority is the man these very traitors taught us to call "Honest John Dillon." Why, my friends, nothing has pleased them from the commencement of this Convention to the end. I took up a paper this morning-I know not what gentleman or what coterie it may represent-but nothing, from the prayer in Irish, from the Benediction of the Pope down to the very minutest act, was satisfactory to this I am not here to apply the knife nor to advise its application, because, as a physician and surgeon, the knife should be the last remedy. I merely would repeat which was so well said by the distinguished representative for Longford, the Hon. Edward Blake, who was regarded not only as an ornament to Canada, but an ornament to all America. tendered the olive branch of peace to those who are at variance with you, and did it in a spirit that should force any Christian gentleman to examine his conscience and see if he could any longer remain apart. I will merely add, that while we are in this country a little while longer we will watch and pray that the peaceful remedies offered, and the peaceful means presented by Mr. Blake and others to this assembly, may be accepted before it is too late. I will tell the electors of the country-if they will take my advice, and I know some of them will take it-I will tell the electors of what has been, perhaps, from time immemorial called the Black North, from which I have come, to fall into line, as I am glad to see it is falling into line-I shall as ruct them, if these members continue obstinate as they have continued, they are to work the guillotine, and they are to be the executioners. There is a gentleman from Massachusetts and Boston of greater reputation and size than myself, and as probably he will have a word to say from that section, I beg to be excused from saying any more. A yord to the wise is sufficient. You have had many words, and



From photo by W. Lawrence, Dubits.) WATERVILLE

CO. KERRY.

LOUGH DERRIANA.

many eloquent words. Let them be sufficient; take them home—meditate upon them—ponder upon them, and do not fo.get, that the members of

Parliament are your servants, and not your masters.

The CHAIRMAN—Gentlemen, a number of other speakers would be willing to address the Convention, but at this hour of the day it is absolutely necessary to get through with the agenda paper. Is it your wil that these resolutions do pass? (Loud cries of "Aye.")

The CHAIRMAN-I declare these resolutions carried unanimously.

- (5) Land.—"That the Irish landlord system and methods have tended to imporeish, exterminate, and expel the Irish race, and have thus been the fruitful source of misery, discontent, violence, and disturbance in Ireland. That the last Land Act, while bettering the condition of certain classes, fails to give the vast majority of the Irish tenantry that security against excessive rents and confiscation of improvements which is essential to their well-being and to the success of any scheme of land purchase; fails to give necessary powers for the enlargement of too small holdings by the compulsory purchase of grass lands from which the people have been driven, and fails to make adequate provision for the restoration to their homes of the evicted tenants, to whose courage and endurance such benefits as the farmers of Ireland have obtained are largely due, and whose case must ever appeal to the sense of honor and gratitude of their fellow-countrymen. We condemn the lateness of the period and the shortness of the time allowed for discussion, and the indecent threats of withdrawal, by which legitimate debate was curtailed; and we declare that the Act cannot be accepted even as a temporary settlement, and that the only hope of the tenantry rests in a united and determined Parliamentary party, backed by a great agrarian combination, watching the operation of the Land Laws, exposing cases of injustice, and demanding a full measure of reform."
- (6) TAXATION.—46 That we rejoice that the evidence taken before the Financial Commission has at length made too clear for argument the injustice under which Ireland has been so long and is still labouring in the matter of Imperial taxation, and we record our grateful thanks to Mr. Sexton for his arduous and most successful labours in this regard. We call upon the Irish Party at the earliest moment to press upon Parliament our demand for the redress of past wrongs and for the relief from present unequal burdens imposed by the representatives of rich and powerful Britain upon weakened and impoverished Ireland.
- (7) LABOUR.—" That while we hail with satisfaction the improved condition of those labourers from whom homes have been provided under the Labourers Act, we regret that the great body are still without decent habitations and plots of land. Notwithstanding recent improvements, we claim that, whilst maintaining due supervision, the procedure should be further shortened, simplified, and cheapened, the appeal to the Privy Conncil abolished, and the Act made more widely useful; and that the Irish labourers shall be given the same franchise for the elections of guardians as is possessed by the English labourers; that we recognise the just claim of urban labour to an improvement in the laws as applicable to the housing of the working classes of the towns, and we sympathise with every effort for a reasonable reduction in the hours of daily toil."
- (8.) LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—"That we condemn the non-representative and irresponsible system of Local Government in Irish Counties by Grand Juries, and the narrowness of the franchise in Irish boroughs; we demand the immediate application in Ireland to Local Government in all its branches of those principles of democratic control which have been so fully carried out in Great Britain."
- (2.) EDUCATION.—"That for Catholics we demand perfect equality in the law and administration in the matter of education—primary, intermediate, and university—and the recognition therein not only of the national spirit but also of the highest educational right, namely, the religious training of youth in accordance with the price-less principles—religious liberty and freedom of conscience; we demand the establishment of the control of the

agriculture and other industrial arts on a system adapted to the special needs of Ireland, so that her children may be better fitted to develop the resources of their country.

(10.) GAELIC LANGUAGE.— "We hail with satisfaction the successful efforts that are being made at home and abroad to revive and extend interest in the preservation of the Gaelic tongue, and we urge upon all those who can further the interests of this movement to give every help and encouragement to the preservation and study of our ancient Irish tongue by the children of the Gael."

The CHAIRMAN-I find on the paper a number of notices handed in to me relative to particular Members. Now, considering the course of this debate, the mandate that you have given to the Parliamentary Party, and the desire of all to see that peaceful counsels should prevail, I would suggest to the gentlemen charged with these resolutions at this hour of the day to allow them to drop. There is another resolution thanking the two gentlemen-the leader of the National Party and Mr. Blake, for their unrivalled services to the National cause. I think I may be interpreting the views of both, when I also ask those in charge of those resolutions not to put them to the meeting. There is also a notice of motion expressing condemnation of a particular newspaper, and perhaps the same course is the best in regard to that motion. There is a resolution with regard to the form of the Parliamentary Pledge, and perhaps the gentleman in charge of that motion would allow me to say that it is a great subject to enter upon at this stage of our proceedings, and that possibly we have done enough to secure the object these gentlemen have in view. The last resolution of all, I would suggest might be treated in the same way, as it proposes somewhat of a new procedure. There remains two resolutions. With one of them I think you will have no difficulty. It might easily be added, I suggest, to the resolution about the Irish language. It is-

"That, in order to give employment to the poorer classes, and remedy the poverty and misery due to the oppression and legalized robbery under which our country has so long suffered and still suffer, we appeal to all Irishmen of means to assist in establishing manufactures in Ireland, and on all, to promote their success by using articles of Irish manufacture as far as they can be obtained."

The next division contains a suggestion in addition to what is contained in the resolution on the Irish language already passed. I shall read it for you—

"That the most strenuous efforts be made to create and foster a healthy National sentiment, by disseminating the knowledge of Irish history, and by the cultivation of the Irish language, Irish literature, music and games."

There remains a motion with reference to the Paris Funds, and it is different in character from those I have alluded to. Mr. Thomas McGovern will move the resolution, and then I think we can bring the matter to a conclusion in a short time.

There being no response, after a pause,

The CHAIRMAN—I will ask Mr. Dillon to make a short statement on the matter.

Mr. JOHN DILLON, M.P.—My lord and fellow-delegates, I stated before that I came before this Convention prepared to deal with anything in the nature of a charge that might be made, and I have no fault

to find with Mr. M'Govern for putting that notice on the paper. On the contrary, I thank him for taking that manly course of raising the question, and also for giving me notice that he proposed to raise it. Now, the answer is exceedingly brief and simple. The Paris Funds, as most of you are aware, were released under agreement between ourselves and the Parnellite Party, when we were informed by the London solicitors who had charge of the matter, on behalf of Mr. M'Carthy and our party, that it might be twenty years before they could be got out by means of litigation. The terms of that agreement were published to the world, and were approved by unanimous vote at a meeting of the Irish Party in the month of November, 1893, at which fifty-four members of the party were present. Under that agreement, in the month of November, 1894, the Paris Funds were released, and I may say, for the information of Mr. M'Govern, as he asks me to state how much was received by Mr. M'Carthy and myself, that since January, 1890, nothing was received until the month of November, 1894. The total net sum-after the payment of law costs paid under the agreement-the total net sum released was £38,471 14s. 11d. Under the agreement we were bound to set aside £14,000 of that sum to meet what were known as prior claims, and that £14,000 lies to-day, untouched as yet, in the Hibernian Bank, in O'Connell Street in this city, in the names of Messrs. Michael Davitt, T. Harrington, and John Dillon. Many claims have been lodged against it, and I fear it may be some little time yet before we can arrive at an agreement as to the apportionment of the money to the various claims, as they are largely in excess of that sum. That left a balance of £24,471 14s. 11d., which, under the terms of the agreement, was to be devoted to the relief of the evicted tenants, and I am here to-day to state that, when that sum is fully expended, a careful audit of the account will be published, which will show that not a single farthing has gone to a member of the Irish Party, or to any political purpose whatever. Up to the date of the commencement of this Convention, that fund of £24,471 48.11d. was disposed of as follows:—£23,084 78.4d. has been distributed amongst the evicted tenants of Ireland, £395 os. 9d. has been the cost in office expenses and in the salary of a secretary for the distribution of that large sum, and £992 6s. 10d. still lies in bank for the use of the evicted tenants. And I have only further to say that Mr. M'Govern's motion asked me to state, on behalf of the party, the name and address of every individual who got a payment out of the Paris Funds, I have that actually prepared (cries of "It is not wanted"), but inasmuch as there are over twelve hundred names and over twelve hundred addresses, it would cover two sheets of the Freeman. But I can inform Mr. M'Govern, or anybody else interested, that by giving me notice, and calling at my house, No. 2 North Great George's Street, I shall hand the whole document over to him, and let him study it for himself.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, M.P.—My lord, I have to propose the following resolution, which I am about to read. If the hour were earlier, and if the case required any speaking. I might address some observations to you upon it; but I think the case is so clear, and the motion expresses what you think so lucidly, that it will not be necessary for me to do more than read the motion. I hope my friends to whom the resolution

is addressed will not misunderstand me in thus moving the resolution without any comment—

"That this great National Convention of the Irish Race offers its profound gratitude to the distinguished gentlemen from the United States, Canada, Australasia, Newfoundland, and South Africa who have been self-sacrificing and patriotic enough to travel such vast distances to attend this Convention. That we recognise in them, holding as they do, great positions in politics, the Church, and commerce, not only the most influential representation of the scattered children of the Gael which has ever visited Ireland, but as living proofs of the genius, energy, and capacity of the Irish race when free institutions give Irishmen a fair chance. And finally that the presence of these men of our race from so many parts of the earth shows to the whole world that the struggle of Ireland can rely on the steady, generous, and energetic support of a great and powerful race in almost every part of the world, and can look thus confidently to complete and triumphant success."

Mr. DAVITT—It gives me the greatest pleasure—in fact I feel an honour in performing the duty—in seconding the resolution so well put by Mr. O'Connor.

The motion was carried amidst enthusiastic cheering and waving of

Very Rev. Dean HARRIS—On behalf of the foreign delegates, I wish to thank you for this warm expression of your kindly feelings towards us. If we have served no other purpose by our visit we have at least infused into the hearts of those present some of the warmth of feeling towards the old country that we have entertained ourselves. For coming these long distances we are more than repaid by the courtesy with which we have been received by you, and by the instructions we have received in listening to the magnificent speeches delivered from this platform. I thank you.

Mr. John Dillon, M.P.—It is now my duty to move that his lordship the Bishop of Raphoe do leave the chair, and that Mr.

Edward Blake do take the second chair.

Mr. BLAKE here took the place of the Bishop of Raphoe in the chair.

Mr. Dillon-I have to submit to you a resolution, which, indeed, will not require that I should approach the limit of time, and that is-

"That the thanks of this great Convention and the thanks of the scattered children of the Gael should be accorded to that illustrious and eloquent prelate who has presided over our deliberations for the last three days, and who has shown that the blood of O'Donnell is still wam."

I shall say nothing more, for the reception you have given to the resolution shows that it is idle for me to recommend it to you.

Rev. J. Scanlan, P.P.—I have very great pleasure indeed in seconding this vote of thanks to his lordship, the Bishop of Raphoe, for the great services he has rendered to Ireland by presiding over this great Convention during the past three days. In accordance with the traditions of his honoured place he heard the call of Ireland, and he came to point out to the Irish people the road to duty, and I hope every man here will find in his heart a command to follow in that path of duty. At the opening of the Convention he made a speech that was at once eloquent and patriotic. During those three days he guided



[From photo by] MOU

MOUTH OF THE BLACKWATER, CO. KERRY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

our deliberations with a wisdom that could not be surpassed, and for which Ireland owes him a debt of thanks. Under his lordship's auspices great good is bound to come from this Convention, for when you go home to your respective parishes you will be bound in honour as patriots and as men to give effect to the resolutions that were passed here during the last three days. The Convention was a noble sight to see, but except you put life into your branches when you go home the Convention will be robbed of half its fruit, and his lordship will be deprived of half the pleasure due to him for having presided on this remarkable occasion. I think the very best thanks we could give him would be to put new life into the different branches of the organisation in our respective parishes, to gather our friends around us, and thereby give pleasure to Ireland and put fear into the hearts of her foes. With these few remarks I beg formally to second the vote of thanks to his lordship, who, in accordance with the traditions of his ancient and royal race, has done us great honour by presiding over our Convention.

Mr. Blake then put the resolution to the meeting, and declared it carried amid a most extraordinary and unprecedented scene of

enthusiasm.

The Most Rev. Dr. O'DONNELL, on rising to reply to the vote of thanks, was the recipient of an extraordinary ovation. The whole crowded audience rose to their feet and cheered loudly, and waved hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes. After several renewals of the demonstration, and when silence was restored, his lordship said-Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, it is beyond my power to return thanks as I ought for the far too kind words spoken of me by the proposer and seconder of this resolution, or to express my gratitude to the Convention at large for the generosity with which it has received those words, and the forbearance and kindliness that have been dealt out to me since the beginning of these memorable proceedings. When I took the chair I thought to myself it was likely to involve some strain, but I reflected that I should have the compensation of being in a good position to listen to a debate that promised to be fruitful with lasting blessings for the land we all love. I think this Convention has not been behind the expectation of anyone, and I say, whatever other convictions our friends from abroad bring back with them, they will bring this conviction—that when Ireland has a Parliament, that Parliament will be worthy of a nation. As regards the chair, my position was very largely a sinecure; and if ever a wave threatened to ripple the placid face of this great sea of Irish public life, a little bang by Mr. Davitt on the gong at once stilled the storm. I venture to express the opinion to Mr. M'Neill, who, I understand, is writing a history of Irish Conventions, the best theme he can find for any chapter will be the proceedings of this Convention. I confess, indeed, on a secondary matter I had for a while some anxiety. I had a fear, when that strain of eloquence from across the seas poured into my ears, that the ungrateful children of Ireland who had left her soil were going to bear away the palm of eloquence. Fortunately, the balance became pretty fairly and evenly dressed. As one who occupied that chair, I take great pleasure in saying that I am proud of our people and very proud of our clergy who did so much good work in this Convention. One thing gave us enormous power in this hall during the proceedings, and that was the presence and patient hearing and sympathy of those most representative friends who have come to us from every land in which Irishmen can be found; and I say to them, because at first sight it might appear somewhat strange that in the capital of the land they came to serve there were not more public demonstrations in their honour—I say to them that they have had a demonstration of respect and honour from the intellect and heart of Ireland in the vote that has been passed them this afternoon. And I tell them that if they go down to Tipperary or Connemara, or to a place called Donegal—if they send to rural Ireland, where the Irish population chiefly lives—if they send a large deputation, we will make our Irish hills blaze with

welcome in their honour.

Gentlemen, can any man doubt that this Convention has been a magnificent success? You know there are two peace-making ways in which unity may be promoted—there is the way of aggregation and fusion, on the one hand, and there is the way, on the other hand, of growth and assimilation and attraction, and survival of the fittest. Now, none of our friends leaving their homes thought it at all likely that on this platform the aggregation would actually be effected, but they are convinced, and we are convinced, that the tone of this assembly, and the voice of this assembly, and the brotherly love and toleration exhibited by this assembly towards every man who is honestly a friend of Ireland, are eminently calculated to bring all true Irish Nationalists together. Then, as regards growth and attraction and assimilation, has not the principle of growth been strengthened and renewed with a new spirit from the deliberations and decisions of this Convention? And is it not a fact of which we feel well assured, that when the spirit of this Convention has its full influence on public opinion, when our delegates go back home and report, and when the whole country is vitalised anew by the sentiments poured forth so unanimously here, soon, and very soon, those who now linger outside the regular army will come in and obey the drill? Gentlemen, our friends from abroad, have you any doubt now as to where the Irish Party is? Well, the work of the Irish Party, my friends, would be very much easier if, besides being the Irish Party, they had every Nationalist Home Rule member working cordially with them. But, gentlemen, I want to put you this. We have no claim on you except the great claim which constrains you of your love for our cause. And I say this to you unhesitatingly—it is my belief that it is a logical conclusion for you-that as a united Irish Party would have dominant claims on your sympathy and support, the true Irish Party that has spread out its hands to all true Nationalists, and asked them to come to meet you, and is surrounded with so much trouble and danger and difficulty in doing its work, has a greater claim on you than any party could have in which every Nationalist member would stand with his brothers. It is well known at home and abroad that for years past our Party in Parliament, owing to a sort of paralysis with which it was afflicted on the right and on the left, did not receive from the public that amount of financial support which is absolutely essential for the conduct of any movement or for maintaining an army in Westminster to fight our battles there. Well, if I interpret the spirit of this Convention aright, the men who compose it will not let our army starve for the want of commissariat.

I will, therefore, read to you a resolution which I propose for the acceptance of friends from Ireland and from beyond her shores:—

"That this Convention, representing the Irish people, pledges its financial support to the Irish party, and calls upon them to make an appeal for such support to the people in the course of the present autumn."

You will give that resolution effect, I am sure, in the full confidence, as Rev. Mr. Lyttle suggested, that in our own day, with God's blessing, Ireland will be a nation once again, with the mission to maintain highest intellectual culture, supreme devotion to faith, and true liberty for all its people.

Mr. BLAKE put the resolution proposed by his lordship, and declared

it passed with acclamation.

Mr. Blake, again rising—Gentlemen, in one moment this great Convention will be dissolved. Our collective power, our organised force, will be at an end. Our works will live after us. Remember that with the moment our collective power ends our individual responsibility commences, and as we separate and are resolved into our individual entities, we carry away with us, each one, a solemn duty to spread the light, and to cause every place where we live, and every man and woman with whom we have influence, to know what has been learnt and what has been decided here these three days, and to see that the seeds, the good seeds, sown here, shall blossom and bear fruit all over Ireland, Gentlemen, I declare this Convention dissolved.



The Resolutions of the Convention.

THE following is the full text of the resolutions as finally adopted by the Convention of the Irish Race during its deliberations:—

(1) REUNION .- "Seeing that divisions amongst Irish Nationalist representatives paralyze to a great extent their power of serving Ireland, cast discredit on the country, and tend to alienate the support of the Irish race and to destroy their confidence in the efficacy of Parliamentary action, we record our firm conviction that it is of the first importance to Ireland that the Nationalist representatives in Parliament should be reunited into one party; and, in the spirit of the recent resolution of the Irish Party, we declare that, 'In our earnest desire to accomplish that result, we are prepared to meet on fair and equal terms all Nationalists who will join in the attempt to reconstitute a united Home Rule Party, in which every supporter of the movement shall be cordially received and justly considered, regardless of all past differences, and having regard only to his capacity to render service to the common cause. We are glad to observe in the composition of this Convention, and in the spirit shown throughout the country, marked evidence of a growing tendency to reunion, and we invite the Irish Nationalist Party to take such further steps as may to them seem calculated to promote the cause of reunion.'

(2) UNITY.—"That we recognise as the essential element of the existence of an effective Irish Party the hearty co-operation and cheerful subordination of each individual in carrying out the Party policy, as settled (after free discussion) by the judgment of the greater number. That while we are glad to observe that on grave questions there have been but few intelligible differences of opinion in the Irish Party, and none difficult of reconciliation by reasonable men willing to agree, we most strongly condemn those public disputes regarding minor questions of persons and tactics which have so gravely impaired the power of the Party. We solemnly call upon every man belonging to the Irish Party, in answer to the prayers of our people all the world over, to forget old differences, to sink personal feelings, and to act for the future as good comrades and fellow-soldiers in the spirit of this resolution and in the support of that party unity on which the fate of Ireland so largely depends. We ask the Irish Party to take such steps as may in their judgment be found necessary to the establishment of unity and discipline in their own ranks, in accordance with the resolutions of this Convention; and we assure them of our unfailing support in the execution of this essential task."

(3) HOME RULE.—"That this Irish Race Convention reasserts the immemorial claim of IRELAND A NATION. We declare that England is governing Ireland wrongfully, by coercion, and against the people's will; that each year proves afresh the futility of the attempt; that Irish evils mainly flow from alien, irresponsible, uninformed, and unsympathetic rule; and that no policy, whether of severe repression or of partial concession, can allay her rightful discontent, or will slacken her efforts to obtain a Legislature and an executive making and administering laws for Ireland by Irishmen on Irish soil. We declare it the prime duty of the Irish Parliamentary Party to continue to maintain its absolute independence of English Political Parties, and thus to preserve its freedom to give an independent opposition or an independent support to any Party, as may seem best in the interests of the National cause."

(4) AMNESTY.—"That, while hailing with satisfaction the release of some of the Irish Political Prisoners, we are indignant that relief has come so late, after their health had been broken by long years of suffering. We condemn the brutal treatment which England, while boasting herself to be the advance guard of freedom amongst the nations, inflicts on political prisoners sentenced for offences arising out of Irish grievances. We mark the contrast in feeling and in action exhibited by England towards the Irish prisoners and towards other political offenders, as, for instance, the Johannesburg Committee and the Jameson Raiders. We call for the immediate liberation of all the remaining Irish political prisoners still enduring the horrors of penal servitude, and we request the Irish Parliamentary representatives to

press with insistent urgency for their release."

(5) LAND.—"That the Irish landlord system and methods have tended to impoverish, exterminate, and expel the Irish race, and have thus been the fruitful source of misery, discontent, violence and disturbance in Ireland. That the last Land Act, while bettering the condition of certain classes, fails to give the vast majority of the Irish tenantry that security against excessive rents and confiscation of improvement which is essential to their well-being and to the success of any scheme of land purchase; fails to give necessary powers for the enlargement of too small holdings by the compulsory purchase of grass lands from which the people have been driven, and fails to make adequate provision for the restoration to their homes of the evicted tenants, to whose courage and endurance such benefits as the farmers of Ireland have obtained are largely due, and whose case must ever appeal to the sense of honour and gratitude of their fellow-countrymen. We condemn the lateness of the period and the shortness of the time allowed for discussion, and the indecent threats of withdrawal, by which legitimate debate was curtailed; and we declare that the act cannot be accepted even as a temporary settlement, and that the only hope of the tenantry rests in a united and determined Parliamentary party, backed by a great agrarian combination, watching the operation of the land laws, exposing cases of injustice, and demanding a full measure of reform."

(6) TAXATION.—"That we rejoice that the evidence taken before the Financial Commission has at length made too clear for argument

the injustice under which Ireland has been so long and is still labouring in the matter of Imperial taxation, and we record our grateful
thanks to Mr. Sexton for his arduous and most successful labours in this
regard. We call upon the Irish Party at the earliest moment to press
upon Parliament our demand for the redress of past wrongs and for the
relief from present unequal burdens imposed by the representatives of
rich and powerful Britain upon weakened and impoverished Ireland."

(7) LABOUR.—" That while we hail with satisfaction the improved condition of those labourers for whom homes have been provided under the Labourers Act, we regret that the great body are still without decent habitations and plots of land. Notwithstanding recent improvements, we claim that, whilst maintaining due supervision, the procedure should be further shortened, simplified, and cheapened, the appeal to the Privy Council abolished, and the Act made more widely useful; and that the Irish labourers shall be given the same franchise for the elections of guardians as is possessed by the English labourers; that we recognise the just claim of urban labour to an improvement in the laws as applicable to the housing of the working classes of the towns, and we sympathise with every effort for a reasonable reduction in the hours of daily toil."

(8) Local Government.—"That we condemn the non-representative and irresponsible system of Local Government in Irish Counties by Grand Juries, and the narrowness of the franchise in Irish boroughs; we demand the immediate application in Ireland to Local Government in all its branches of those principles of democratic control which have

been so fully carried out in Great Britain."

(9) EDUCATION.—"That for Catholics we demand perfect equality in the law and administration in the matter of education—primary, intermediate and university—and the recognition therein not only of the National spirit, but also of the highest educational right, namely, the religious training of youth in accordance with the priceless principles of religious liberty and freedom of conscience; we demand the establishment of a University which shall afford to the Catholic people of Ireland educational opportunities equal to those enjoyed by the favoured majority of her population in the University of Dublin; we ask for a practical extension of technical education in agriculture and other industrial arts on a system adapted to the special needs of Ireland, so that her children may be better fitted to develop the resources of their country."

(10) GAELIC LANGUAGES.—"We hail with satisfaction the successful efforts that are being made at home and abroad to revive and extend interest in the preservation of the Gaelic tongue, and we urge upon all those who can further the interests of this movement to give every help and encouragement to the preservation and study of our ancient Irish tongue by the children of the Gael. That the most strenuous efforts be made to create and foster a healthy National sentiment by disseminating the knowledge of Irish history, and by the cultivation of the Irish

language, Irish literature, music and games."

(11) IRISH MANUFACTURE.—"That in order to give employment to the poorer classes, and remedy the poverty and misery due to the oppression and legalised robbery under which our country has so long



suffered and still suffers, we appeal to all Irishmen of means to assist in establishing manufactures in Ireland, and on all to promote their success by using articles of Irish manufacture as far as they can be obtained."

(12) THE DELEGATES FROM ABROAD.—"That the great National Convention of the Irish Race offers its profound gratitude to the distinguished gentlemen from the United States, Canada, Australasia, Newfoundland, and South Africa, who have been self-sacrificing and patriotic enough to travel such vast distances to attend this Convention. That we recognise in them, holding as they do great positions in politics, the Church and commerce, not only me most influential representation of the scattered children of the Gael which has ever visited Ireland but as living proofs of the genius, energy and capacity of the Irish race when free institutions gave Irishmen a fair chance. And finally, that the presence of these men of our race from so many parts of the earth shows to the whole world that the struggle of Ireland can rely on the steady, generous, and energetic support of a great and powerful race in almost every part of the world, and can look thus confidently to complete and triumphant success."

(13) THANKS TO THE MOST REV. CHAIRMAN.—" That the thanks of this great Convention, and the thanks of the scattered children of the Gael, should be accorded to that illustrious and eloquent prelate who has presided over our deliberations for the last three days, and who has

shown that the blood of O'Donnell is still warm."

(14) FINANCIAL SUPPORT.—"That this Convention, representing the Irish people, pledges its financial support to the Irish Party, and calls upon them to make an appeal for such support to the people in the course of the present autumn."

Resolutions 1 to 10 appeared the last sentence of 10, which we kneed to the last sentence of 10, which we kneed to the last sentence of 10, which we kneed to the exception of 2).

Resolution 11 was taken for Resolutions 12, 13 and 16 and 16 and 16 and 17 and 18 and 18

Resolutions Dropped.

THE following, placed on the Agenda by the persons whose many are attached, were either not proposed when called, were taken as end died in other resolutions, or were, on the suggestion of the Chair is not pressed.

"That, owing to the miserable squabbles which have disgraced the Irish Parliamentary Party during the past six years, the cause of Home Rule, in our opinion, has been seriously imperilled, the influence of the party considerably lessened, and the hopes and aspirations of the best and truest of our people chilled and thwarted. Believing that the cardinal principle of unity should form the basis of the deliberations of this important gathering, we would respectfully urge when, after due consideration, its decisions have been arrived at, every effort should be made to impress on the various constituencies the absolute necessity of demanding the immediate resignation

of any representative, no matter how marked his abilities, or how great his services, who neglects or refuses to abide by majority rule."

DANIEL SMITH and WILLIAM MORAN, Edinburgh (on behalf of the John Dillon and W. E. Gladstone Branches, I.N. L. of Great Britain).

C.

"That we view with deep concern the present unfortunate dissensions among the Leaders of the Irish Party; we hold strongly to the opinion that the interests of Ireland can never be advanced until a United Party reverts to the old system of absolute independence of all English Parties; and we hopefully look to this great Convention to enforce unity under the leadership of one who shall be acceptable to the whole Irish race."

M. Fox, Birkenhead (on behalf of the Wilfred Clunt Branch, I.N.L. of Great Pritain).

D.

"That this Convention tenders to John Dillon its sincere gratitude for a hie of service to Ireland, and for that crowning set of unselfish patriotism in responding to his country's call to the leadership at a period of unspeakable difficulty; and congratulates him on the suncess of this Session at the helm, and the admirable qualities of statesmanship he has displayed in the face of unparalleled opposition; we are proud to recognise his efforts to restore unity again in the Irish ranks. And this Convention calls on Mr. Thomas Sexton to return to the service of his country, and continue the magnificent work he has already done on its behalf."

COUNCILLOR D. M'CABE, Manchester, for the Michael Davitt Branch, I.N.L. of Great Britain.

E

"That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is necessary for the good of the case that a representative Committee be appointed for the purpose of carrying out the resolutions of the Convention, with power to visit and summon meetings in any constituency where, in their opinion, the sitting Member is not conducting himself in conformity with his pledges to his constituency and Party, and calling on them to demand from him strict discipline, failing which to duly convene a meeting of the electors in the place of his nomination for the consideration of his conduct, and to take what other steps may be considered advisable in the circumstance."

THE DELEGATES of the A M. Sullivan Branch, I.N.L. of Great Britain, Dundee.

TP.

"We strongly condemn the Nation Irish newspaper for continuing to sow dissension, and for misrepresenting and treating with ridicule this Convention, composed of patriotic men, many of whom have travelled thousands of miles in the hope of promoting unity amongst the people of Ireland."

DELEGATES, Bristol Branch, I.N.L. of Great Britain.

G

"That as the occupation by graziers of large tracts of land, suitable for agricultural purposes, constitutes a land monopoly which is most detrimental to the best interests of our country, and is the chief cause of the continued emigration of the flower of our people, it is hereby resolved—'That no settlement of the land question shall be accepted as satisfactory or final that shall not provide for the expropriation of these large grass farms, for the purpose of relieving, as far as possible, the congestion of the overpopulated districts, and providing farms and homes for those agriculturists and labourers who must otherwise be compelled to emigrate, as under the present iniquitous system they are locked out from a great portion of the land of the country.'"

JAMES KILMARTIN, Ballinasloe Branch I.N.F.

(1) "That as a vacancy occurs in any constituency, the Irish Party, or Committees if there be such, do immediately communicate with the constituency, and if they, in conjunction, decide upon contesting the constituency, a Convention be forththey, in conjunction, decide upon contesting the constituency, a Convention be forth-with called in the most convenient part of the constituency, and at least one week's notice be given of the date and place of holding said Convention; said notice to be published in the Daily National Journal, also to be given to the Local Branch of I.N.F., or other duly representative association qualified to send Delegates. That said Convention be presided over by a representative of the Irish Party; that the Convention be constituted as heretofore; and that before the name of any candidate is submitted to the Convention he be compelled to sign the pledge hereinafter named; and that the vote of the majority of delegates in all cases be binding; and further, that it be the duty of all delegates and Nationalists to ...pport the candidate as chosen.

(2) "That, at and after this Convention, all Nationalists Members of Parliament (2) "That, at and after this Convention, all Nationalists Members of Parliament and any candidate seeking the representation of a National constituency, before his name be submitted to the Convention, shall be compelled to sign the following pledge:—I hereby pledge myself that if elected as Member of Parliament for the constituency of —, that I will sit, act, and vote with the majority of the Irish Party; that I will abstain from criticising, in the Press or elsewhere, the actions or conduct of any of my colleagues until he or they have been tried and condemned by a majority of the Irish National Party; further, that after I have given my opinions within the councils of the Party, 1 will support the carrying out of the programme, and uphold its decisions to the utmost of my ability; also that I will respond upon all occasions to the summonses of the Whips or other duly-elected officers of the Party; and that I will not absent myself from any meeting of said Party, or from attending to the Ilouse will not absent myself from any meeting of said Party, or from attending in the House of Commons without sufficient cause, and giving notice to the Chairman and Whips the Party; and any time I feel unable to comply with the above I shall give notice to the Secretaries of the Party, and forthwith resign my seat."

(3) "That the Irish Parliamentary Party do elect at their next meeting a Comittee of the Secretaries of the Arman Party and the Irish Parliamentary Party do elect at their next meeting a Com-

mittee of eight members to act as a consultative or advisary Committee in conjunction with the Chairman to determine the policy and programme of the l'arty, in the interval between general meetings of the whole Party, and to discharge such other duties as the Party may from time to time empower them with."

(4) "That a Committee be formed immediately after this Convention in every

County or Electoral Division, such Committee to be called the County or Divisional Committee as the case may be, and to consist of five per cent. of the members on the books of each branch."

"The place of neeting and the interval between each to be regulated by the Committee at its first meeting, and that a Chairman and Secretary shall be elected the same occasion, each to hold office, unless re-elected, for one year only. The principal duties of the Committee will be to make all the necessary arrangements relative to Parliamentary Elections in the County or Division which they represent, working up the Branches of the I. N. F., and attending to all the matters brought under their notice by same through their delegates."

J. MAGRATH, M. A. LAZENBY, and J. NUGENT, Blackrock Branch, I.N.F.

"That, as it is impossible for the Irish Nationalist Party to render much service "I nat, as it is impossible for the Irish Nationalist Party to render much service to Ireland in the London House of Commons without unity and discipline being observed within the ranks of the Party, we, the members of this Convention of the Irish Race, demand that any member of the Irish Party who will in the future refuse to observe and submit to the ruling of the majority of his Party, shall be called upon by his constituents to resign his seat, and if his constituents fail to do so, that the Irish Datte would him from their body that the the Execution of the State of Party expel him from their body, and that the Executive of the Federation cut off that constituency from the organisation."

PATRICK REGAN, Delegate, Crossna, Co. Roscommon.

"Whereas, dissension and disunion have done material damage to the National cause in the past, and whereas, the raking up of disputes would only open up old

sores, he it therefore resolved-'That this Convention do not entertain contentious matters relating to past disputes amongst the Irish Party, but proceed to lay down a programme for the future guidance of the National cause. Whereas, we believe that programme for the future guidance of the National cause. Whereas, we believe that it is only by strictly adhering to majority rule that the efficiency of the Irish National Party can be maintained for effective Parliamentary action: Resolved—'That any member of that Party who, either in the Press or on the platform, publicly reputiates any decision arrived at by a majority of the Party, should be immediately called upon to resign his seat.'"

THE DELEGATES, Cloonloo (Co. Sligo) Branch I.N.F.

"I hat as unity and discipline, so essential to the success of our cause, can only be "stablished and maintained by the recognition of majority rule, this Convention is of opinion that any member of the frish Party guilty of insubordination, and thereby violating his solemn pledge to his constituents, should be immediately called upon by his coll-agues to resign his sent, and in the event of his failing to do so, should be expelled from the Party at a meeting of which each member has received fourteen days' notice, held for that purpose." "That as unity and discipline, so essential to the success of our cause, can only

NEAL HAUGHEY, Dillon Branch, L.N.L. of Great Britain, Greenock.

We ask the Delegates at this Convention of the Irish Race to throw faction and ill feeling to one side, and call upon the Irish Party to unite in one body, to be recognised by all Irishmen as the Irish National Party; and we strongly condemn the action of the Parrellite Party in issuing a manifesto denouncing this Convention as a snare to entrap Irishmen. We ask that all Nationalists would join hand-in-hand and work in preca and harmony as this is the only may that the milk he all the statement. work in peace and harmony, as this is the only way that they will be able to attain any good for their native land."

THE DELEGATES, Daniel O'Connell Branch, I.N.L. of Great Britain, Hamilton, Scotland.

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(I) "That a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen. be appointed to amend the Constitution of the Irish National Federation, viz:—John Ferguson, Giasgow; Michael Davitt, M.P.; J. P. Farrell, M.P.; Jeremiah Jordan, M.P.; a Delegate from the United States. America; a Delegate from Canada; a Delegate from Canada; a Delegate from Aprilia; and the Mover and Seconder of this resolution."

(2) "That Mr. Justin M'Carthy, M.P., and Mr. John Dillon, M.P., do furnish this Convention with a detailed statement showing the receipts and expensiture of the Paris Funds, giving amount received from said Funds since 1st January, 1890, the names and addresses of the persons to whom money out of this Fund has been paid with the amount paid to each, with the nature of the services rendered by such person."

THOMAS M'GOVERN, Gortmore, Bawnboy.

"That we deplore the unfortunate dissensions that have arisen in the Irish Party, and we confidently hope that its members may recognise the fact that unity is the essential condition of its permanence and of its realising the hopes of Ireland."

Rev. W. FOLEY, D.D., Delegate, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

(1) "That English rule in Ireland having its origin in conquest, and being upheld by force against the will of the people, is immoral and an outrage on the rights of men, and it is the duty of all honest and patriot Irishmen to strive by every legiti-

mate means for its destruction."

(2) "That we protest against the over-taxation of our country, which has been made manifest by the researches of the Financial Relations Commission; and we call

on the English Government to make restitution for the hundreds of millions sterling of which Ireland has been robbed by England since the Union."

(3) [Passed as Resolution 11.]

(3) [Added to Resolution 10.]
(5) "This Convention recognises that only as people learn mutual toleration, forbearance, and consideration, are they fit for freedom and self-government, and that national and social progress is impossible apart from moral improvement. It earnestly national and social progress is impossible apart from moral improvement. It earnestly entreats all Irish politicians to sink personal and party jealusaies and animosities for the sake of their country, and to set an example of self-control and moderation of speech, realising that the people of Ireland ought to forgive as they need to be forgiven. It utterly repudiates every thought of retaliation for wrongs inflicted in the past. It is opposed to every kind of religious or class ascendancy, and aims at the securing of equality of opportunity for all the people, without distinction of class or creed, and it desires to link the movement for justice, freedom, and fraternity all the world over."

(6) "That for these objects it is essential that the whole country be organised as thoroughly as possible."

DELEGATES, Liberal and National Union of Ulster, Beliast.

"That as the Irish people are fully convinced that without vigorous organisation it is utterly impossible for them to gain their rights or liberty, or even to retain the small concessions granted them of late years; and, whereas, there are at present many parishes in Ireland where no branch of the National Federation exists, and to remedy his great defect, and to give vigour, and vitality, and stability to patriotic sentiment, I, therefore, beg leave to move the following resolution: Resolved—'That, in the opinion of the members of this Convention, every member of the Irish Parliamentary Party should visit (or depute some of his colleagues) every parish within his Parliamentary mentary Division, at least once a year, for the purpose of ascertaining how the National movement is progressing therein; and that he uses, to the utmost, his influence and power, with the view of having established and maintained an active branch of the National Federation in every parish within his Parliamentary Division."

CHARLES CLARKF, Lower Badony (County Tyrone) Branch. Irish National Federation



ST. MICHAN'S CHURCH. DUBLIN.

List of Delegates.

The Frish Race Abroad.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—T. C. Boland, Scanton, Pennsylvania; Hon. William L. Brown, New York; John Cashman, Manchester, New Hampshire; M. J. Cooney, Montana; Patrick Cox, Rochester, New York; John B. Devlin, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania; James Duggan, Norwich, Connecticut; Patrick Dunleavy, Philadelphia Council, N.F.; Rev. D. W. Fitzgerald, Manchester, New Hampshire; Martin Fitzgerald, Manchester, New Hampshire; P. Gallagher, New York; John Guiney, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania; Anthony Kelly, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Edward Mackin, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania; Hon. Martin M'Mahon, New York; Rev. George F. Marshall, Milford, New Hampshire; Patrick Martin, Baltimore, Maryland; Michael Murphy, representing Irish National Federation of America, New York; Rev. Denis O'Callaghan, Boston; Hon. Edmond O'Connor, Binghampton, New York; Denis O'Reilly, Boston; Hon. C. T. O'Sullivan, New York; Rev. Edward S. Phillips, Pennsylvania; Michael J. Rooney, representating Irish National Federation of America, New York; Joseph P. Ryan, New York; M. J. Ryan, Philadelphia; James Sullivan, M D., Manchester, New Hampshire; Edward Treacy, Boston; P. W. Wren, Bridgeport, Connecticut.

CANADA.—Hon. John Costigan, M.P., P.C.; Very Rev. M. A. Clancy, Placentia, Newfoundland; P. F. Cronin, Toronto; Rev. Dr. Flannery, St. Thomas, Ontario, representing Ancient Order of Hibernians in Canada; Very Rev. Dr. Foley, Halifax, Novia Scotia; James J. Foy, Q.C., Toronto; Edward Halley, First Vice-president Young Irishmen's Literary and Benefit Association, Montreal; Very Rev. Dean Harris, St. Catherine's; Chevalier John Heney, Ottawa; John M. Keown, Q.C., St. Catherine's; Lieut-Colonel MacShane, Nova Scotia; James J. O'Brien, Halifax, Novia Scotia; Rev. P. F. O'Donnell, Montreal; Rev. F. O'Reilly, Hamilton; Rev. Frank Ryan (representing Archbishop of Toronto), Toronto; Hugh Ryan (Constructor Sault Ste. Marie Canal and portion Canadian Pacific Railway), Toronto; James D. Ryan, President of the Benevolent Irish Society, St. John's, Newfoundland; Gerald B. Tiernan, Halifax.

Australasia.—Charles Hamilton, Bromly, Ex-Attorney-General, Northern Tasmania; Michael Davitt, M.P., Delegated for Dunedin, New Zealand; Thomas Hunt, Victoria; Mr. Kennedy, Wellington, New Zealand; Rev. Father O'Callaghan, C.C., Mallow, delegated to represent Southern Tasmania.

South Africa.—Moses Cornwall, J.P., Kimberley, representing Irishmen of Griqualand, West; H. J. Haskins, Johannesburg.

Members of Parliament.

William Abraham; Dr. R. Ambrose; Michael Austin; Hon. E. Blake; Bernard Collery; T. J. Condon; Eugene Crean; Daniel Crilly; Thomas Curran; Michael Davitt; John Dillon; Captain Donelan; P. C. Doogan; C. J. Engledow; Sir Thomas G. Esmond, Bart.; Thomas J. Farrell; J. Finnucane; M. J. Flavin; J. C. Flynn; James Gilhooly; J. F. Hogan; Jeremiah Jordan; Denis Kilbride; Michael M'Cartan; Justin M'Garthy; Patrick M'Dermott; Dr. M. A. M'Donnell; Richard M'Ghee; P. A. M'Hugh; J. G. S. MacNeill; F. Mandeville; M. J. Minch; George Murnaghan; J. F. X. O'Brien; P. J. O'Brien; T. P. O'Connor; F. A. O'Keeffe; William O'Malley; J. Pinkerton; P. J. Power; John Roche; J. J. Shee; David Sheehy; Dr. Tanner; J. Tully; Samuel Young.

Clergy.

FROM this list are omitted the names of many clergymen who appear as delegates under other categories. As under the constitution of the Convention clergymen were admitted without credentials, it has been impossible to distinguish between those who attended as delegates and as visitors; and many may have been omitted who did not give in their names, or whose names were not correctly taken down at the doors.

Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Lord Bishop of Raphoe; Rev. R. Barrett, St. Patrick's, Cork; Rev. Michael Bonfield, Chicago, U.S.A.; Rev. T. Boylan, Drumshambo; Very Rev. P. Bermingham, P.P., Carrickmacross; Rev. Father Berney, Scotland; Rev. James Brady, Ballymahon; Very Rev. John Brady, Gowel, Carrick-on-Shannon; Rev. John Brady, C.C., Uxbridge, Middlesex; Rev. J. Brennan, C.C., Slieverue; Rev. E. Brennan, C.C., Cullohill; Rev. P. F. Brennan, Rev. Thomas Brennan, C.C., Castlecomer; Rev. M. Buckley, St. Mary's, Haslingden; Rev. John Burke, P.P.; Rev. J. E. Burke, Bolton, Lancashire; Rev. Michael Burke, C.C., Kilgobnet; Rev. B. Butler, Bath, Eugland: Very Rev. Dr. Butler, Dublin; Rev. Arthur Byrne, C.C., Monasterboice; Rev. Father Byrne, Jarrow-on-Tyne; Rev.

Father Byrne, Strokestown.

Rev. H. B. Callachor, O.S.B., B.A., Sydney, New South Wales; Rev. P. Callan, Errigal, Truagh; Rev. J. Campbell, Whitehaven, Cumberland; Rev. J. Campbell, C.C., Inniskeen, Dundalk; Rev. P. P. Campbell, P.P., Loughbrickland; Rev. N. C. Cantwell; Rev. W. Conway, P.P., Glenamaddy; Rev. A. Clancy. P.P., Killimer; Rev. J. Clancy, C.C., Rathcabbin, Birr; Rev. M. A. Clancy, Placentia, Newfoundland; Rev. M. J. Clancy, Templemore; Rev. P. Clarke, P.P., Killmore; Rev. P. Clough, P.P., Ballina; Rev. P. Coffey, P.P., Tramore; Rev. M. Colleran, C.C., Miltown, Tuam; Very Rev. Canon Columb, P.P., Ballinakown, Athlone; Rev. Terence Conlan, P.P., Donaghmoyne; Rev. James Connolly, C.C., Liverpool; Rev. Richard Connolly; Rev. M. D. Conroy, Rosscahill; Rev. M. Considine, C.C., Kilmihill; Rev. P. Cooney, C.C., Innishannon; Rev. D. E. Coyle, C.C., Convoy, Co. Donegal; Rev. P. J. Crimmins, C.C.; Rev. J. R. Crowe, P.P., Cappawhite; Rev. Joseph Cullinan, Newbliss; Rev. J. Cunningham, Sheffield; Rev. James Curran, P.P., Kilconey; Rev. John Curry, St. Mary's, Drogheda; Rev. M. B. Curry, P.P., Bournea.

Rev. D. Daly, P.P., Templeglantine; Rev. P. J. Daly, Boston, U.S.A.; Rev. J. Dempsey, C.C., Celbridge; Rev. M. J. Dillon; Rev. Timothy Doheny, C.C., Cloughjordan; Rev. J. Doherty, New York; Rev. John Doherty, P.P.; Rev. P. J. Donoghue, St. Mary's, Boston, England; Rev. P. Dooley, P.P., Galway; Dr. Anthony F. Dougherty, Luzerne, Co. Pa, U.S.A.; Rev. M. Doyle, C.C., Tubbercurry; Rev. B. Duffy, Fintona; Rev. W. Duggan, C.C., Athy; Rev. L. Duncan, P.P., Magheraclone, Carrickmacross: Rev. Father Dunleavy, Edinburgh; Rev. Willian Dunphy, P.P., The Naul; Rev. W. J. Dunphy, P.P., Arklow.

Rev. P. Egan, P.P., Duniry; Rev. Denis English, Cappamore.
Rev. Peter Farnan, C.C., Derrygonnelly; Rev. John J. Fennelly;
Rev. D. Fitzgerald; Rev. P. Fitzgerald, Kilconnell; Rev. T. Flanagan,
Roscommon; Rev. A. Forrest, P.P., Innishannon; Rev. John Francis,

Rahoon, Galway; Rev. P. M. Furlong, P.P., Taghmon.

Right Rev. James Gallagher, P.P., Carrigart, County Donegal; Rev. James Gallagher, P.P., Rathmullan; Rev. P. Gilchreest, P.P., Drumreilly; Rev. T. Gillic, C.C., Dunshaughlin; Rev. L. Gilligen, Kilmurry; Rev. Father Glevin; Rev. P. Glynn, P.P., Ogonnelloe; Rev. Patrick Godfrey, Moyne; Rev. L. W. Goughran, P.P., Arnev, Enniskillen; Very Rev. Canon Grealy, P.P., V.F., Newport, Mayo; Rev. Denis Greany, C.C., Headford, Co. Galway; Rev. J. Greany, Athlone; Rev. J. Grace, C.C., Ballyuskill, Athenagh; Rev. B. G. Greeley, Behan, Ballyhaunis; Rev. Thomas F. Gregg, New York.

Greeley, Behan, Ballyhaunis; Rev. Thomas F. Gregg, New York. Rev. J. Hally, Kingstown; Rev. James C. Harte, S.J., Clongowes Wood College; Rev. M. Harte, Collaney; Rev. John M. Harty, Maynooth; Rev. Father Healy, Acton, Hamilton, Canada; Rev. W. Healy, P.P., Johnstown; Rev. Thomas Heany, Ballyhaunis; Rev. T. Hearne, P.P., Portlaw; Rev. J. Halloran, Birr; Rev. Martin Holohan, C.C., Kilkenny: Rev. Thomas Hunt. C.C.: Rev. F. Jones. Athlone.

Kilkenny; Rev. Thomas Hunt, C.C.; Rev. F. Jones, Athlone.
Rev. R. Kavanagh, Monamolin; Rev. Thomas Kearney, Adm.,
Skibbereen; Rev. J. Keely, C.C., Gort; Rev. M. Keveney, P.P.,
Charlestown; Very Rev. B. Kelly, P.P., Ballyshannon; Rev. J. Kelly,
Birmingham; Right Rev. Mons. Kelly, P.P., V.G., St. Peter's, Athlone;
Rev. N. Kennedy, C.C.; Rev. M. B. Kennedy, C.C., Blarney; Rev. M.
Kennelly, C.C., Achill; Rev. Patrick Kenny, P.P., Oulart; Rev. P.
Kenny, P.P., Raphoe; Rev. W. J. Kinane, Castleiny, Templemore.

Rev. E. Lalor, P.P., Allen, Kilmeague; Rev. T. J. Larkin, P.P., Moneymore; Rev. Richard Little, Moneyrea; Very Rev. Canon Lottus; Rev. J. Loftus, C.C.; Rev. Denis Lundon; Very Rev. Dr. Loughran, C.C., Dromintee, Newry; Very Rev. Canon Lowry, Gurteen; Rev. A. Lowry, Mayobridge; Very Rev. Canon Lynskey, Clifden.

Rev. P. M'Caffery, Adm., Inver; Rev. J. McAteer, C.C.; Rev. A. Macauley, P.P., Aghagallon, Lurgan; Rev. J. J. McCabe, SS. Joseph and Cuthbert, Loftus, Saltburn-on-Sea; Rev. 3. McAndrew, P.P., Ballinakill; Rev F. McCormac, C.C.; Very Rev. Canon McCartan, P.P., Donaghmore; Rev. T. McCarthy, P.P., Barryroe; Rev. D. F. McCrea, M.R.I.A., Maghera; Rev. J. McDermott, Strokestown; Rev. J. McIlroy, P.P., Currin; Rev. Father McEvilly, C.C.; Rev. J. McEvoy, Banbridge; Rev. James McFadden, P.P., Gweedore: Right Rev. Mons. McGlynn, P.P., V.G., Stranorlar; Rev. P. McGinity, P.P., Kilskeery; Rev. Father McGowran, P.P., Ballina-



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Very Rev. W. L. Penny, V.F.; Rev. Father Phelan, Booheld, U.S.A.; Rev. W. J. Phelan, P.P., Ardfinane, Cahir; Rev. E. S. Phillips, Plains, Luzerne Co., Pennsylvania; Very Rev. Canon Pope, Donoughmore, Co. Cork; Rev. John Power, P.P., Kilteely; Rev. Michael Power, P.P., New Inn, Cahir; Rev. M. Power, P.P., Ballyduff;

Rev. J. S. Prendergast, Ballylooby.

Rev. James Queally, C.C., Kilrossinty; Rev. B. Quinn, Thurles; Rev. C. Quinn, C.C., Camlough; Rev. C. S. Quinn, P.P., V.F., Duneane; Rev. Bernard Quinn, C.C., Bangor-Erris; Rev. Father Quinn, C.C., Cavan: Rev. M. I. Quinn, C.C., Camlough.

Quinn, C.C., Cavan; Rev. M. J. Quinn, C.C., Camlough.
Very Rev. Dean Regan, V.G., P.P., Mitchelstown; Rev. J. Rochford, Aghaboe; Rev. James Rockett, Rathdowney; Rev. Daniel Ryan, P.P., Clonoulty, Co. Tipperary; Rev. Gabriel Ryan, C.C., Middlesboro', England; Rev. W. Ryan, C.C., Boherlahan; Rev. Harold Rylett.
Rev. J. J. Savage, C.C., Hilltown; Rev. J. Scanlan, P.P., Clough-

jordan; Rev. J. Sheridan, Donegal; Rev. M. Shinnors, London; Very Rev. Canon Shinkwin, Bantry; Very Rev. Canon Shortall, P.P., Durrow; Very Rev. P. Canon Smyth, P.P., Ballybay; Rev. P. Spait, P.P., Cappoquin; Rev. T. Stafford, Dublin; Rev. James Stephens, P.P., Crossboyne; Rev. J. Sullivan, Templebredin, Pallasgreen; Rev. Daniel Sweeney, C.C., Kincoslagh, Donegal; Very Rev. J. Sweeney, P.P. Villbarger, C.C., Kincoslagh, Donegal; Very Rev. J. Sweeney,

Rev. P. Tracey, C.C., Galmoy; Rev. Joseph Tully, Achill; Rev. Twomey, C.C., Glountane, Mallow; Rev. Timothy Twomey, C.C.,

Middlesboro'.

Right Rev. Mons. Walker, Letterkenny; Rev. T. Whelahan, St. Patrick's, Plumstead, S.E.; Rev. C. Woods, C.C., Warrenpoint; Rev. Nicholas Woods, C.C., Mullingar; Rev. John Woods, C.C., Drogheda.

County and Civic.

Messrs. Thomas Barry, Cork; Jerome Boyce, Donegal; Thomas Mressrs. Inomas Barry, Cork; Jerome Boyce, Donegai; Inomas Byrne, Galway; Daniel Corry, Meath; Joseph Devlin, Belfast; John Dolan, Leitrim; Rev. P. F. Flynn, P.P., Waterford City; Simon F. Hanratty, Newry Borough; Laurence T. Kelly, Queen's County; William Lundon, Limerick; Rev. J. Meegan, Monaghan; James Neary, Roscommon; John O'Dowd, Sligo; Rev. D. O'Hara, P.P., Mayo; Bernard O'Neill, Armagh; Thomas Robertson, Kildare; Rev. John Rock, P.P., Tyrone; N. K. Shee, Tipperary; John Ward, Sligo Persyurk, John F. Westy, Expenses of the Property of the Proper Borough; John F. Wray, Fermanagh.

From Great Britain.

(Under Localities and Societies from which delegated.)

ACCRINGTON-Samuel Bridges, Edward Burke. ALEXANDRIA, SCOTLAND-Patrick Cassidy.

BARNSLEY, WILLIAM O'BRIEN-Dr. Haiton, J.P.; D. Payne, P. Neary. BARROW-IN-FURNESS, No. 1-Thomas M'Mullen. I. N. CLUB-Neil M'Creesh.

BARRY, WALES, MANDEVILLE-John M'Donnell, Owen M'Cann, Dr. P. J. M'Donnell.

BATLEY CARR, EMMET—Thomas Cox.

BIRKENHEAD, WILFRED BLUNT-Dr. J. T. Martin, Thomas Mohen, Thomas Cusack.

BIRMINGHAM—James Doherty.

BIRSTALL, O'CONNELL-Mrs. J. Gorman.

BLACKBURN, SARSFIELD-Peter Doolan, Austin Moran, Bernard Fury.

BLANTYRE, SCOTLAND, O'CONNELL-Joseph Kennedy.

BOLTON, No. 1—Richard Kelly, Rev. D. O'Brien, William O'Malley, Rev. Joseph A. Burke, T.C.D.; W. Kearns, T.C.; M. Coghlan.

HOME RULE CLUB-W. Devlin, Charles Connolly.

Bradford, Central.—W. Sullivan, Councillor M. O'Flynn, M. J. Barry, J.P.; W. Sullivan, John Daly, John Cawley. DWYER— Patrick Kane, Michael Conboy, John Kane, Michael Kearns. Grattan—Fenton Kenny, Richard Cullen, William Narey, William H. Fitzgerald, James Kelly, Owen Connolly. DILLON-O'BRIEN— T. Browne, William Conroy, John Walling, J. Tane, William

LADIES' CENTRAL-Miss M. Bennett, Mrs. C. E. Cawley, Mrs. K. O. Flynn, Miss M. Keeffe. Ladies' Dillon-O'Brien-Mrs. Pendergast. WOLFE TONE—James Gorman, James Kenehan, William Gorman, Thomas Nailon, Terence White, Thomas Loughlin.

Bristol.—John Valentine, John Downey, M. Hanrahan. Broxburn, Scotland—William Mahon, John Mulhern, Hugh Molloy,

Thomas Dobie.

BURNLEY-John Tighe. Burnbank, Scotland, O'Connell—John Cassidy.

BURY, DAVITT-E. Timlin.

Busby, Scotland, Grattan-John Fitzpatrick

CARDIFF, WALES, EMMET-Jeremiah M'Carthy, William O'Neill, James Courtney, James Neagle, John Hack, Frank A. Fox, Alderman P. W. Carey, J.P.; Dr. James Mullin, M.A., J.P.; James J. Buish, M.B., C.C.

COATBRIDGE, SCOTLAND, DAVITT-John Graven, Michael Hughes, Dr. O'Neill, John M'Evoy.

CONSETT—Thomas Barry.
DEWSBURY, GRATTAN—Edward Rourke, Thomas Walsh, John M'Cann, John O'Hara.

DUMBARTON, HEART OF ERIN-Joseph M'Elhaw, Edward M'Alister. DUNDEE, SCOTLAND, St. Andrew's-Joseph Birmingham, John Hogan. A. M. Sullivan-Matthew M'Kenna, Daniel Daily.

EARLSTOWN-Thomas Galligan, Dominic Caffrey.

EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND, DILLON-Daniel Donworth, John M'Manus. GLADSTONE-Francis M'Aweeney

FARNWORTH-James Kelly, Hugh Gallagher.

GATESHEAD, EMMETT-Edward M'Keown, Councillor F. J. Finn, J. P. DAVITT-James O'Donnell.

GLASGOW, BRIDGETON - Henry Aylmer, Peter Campbell, Michael M'Ginty, Henry Logan. Home Government-Bailie Joseph Shaughnessy, John Ferguson, T.C.; M. J. O'Connell, B.A.; Michael Dunbar, Denis Brogan, Dr. Joseph Scanlan, Hugh Murphy, Thomas Colgan, William M'Killop, Arthur Murphy, John Carnin, James Kelly, C. J. M'Elhawe, Thomas C. Nelson, J.P. INDEPENDENCE— Dr. M'Loughlin, WILLIAM O'BRIEN—James Stafford, ARCHBISHOP WALSH—D. J. Sheahan. DILLON—Richard St. John, James Burns. FATHER MAGUIRE—John M'Quin. DAVIS—William Coyle, J. F. M'Groary. Celtic Football and Athletic Club—John Glass, President; James M'Kay, Treasurer; and William Maley, Secretary. FATHER M'GINN-John M'Guire, Vice-President.

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GREENOCK, SCOTLAND, DILLON-Neal Haughey HALIFAX-Mrs. Mary M'Hugh, Michael M'Hugh, Owen Canning, Martin Delaney.

Hamilton, Scotland, Davitt-Bailie M'Hale, J.P.

HANLEY, ALLEN, LARKIN AND O'BRIEN-Stephen D'Arcy, Dr. W. Dowling Prendergast.

HARTLEPOOL, WEST, DAVIS-Francis Jones, P.I.G.

HASLINGDEN, DAVITT-Michael Welsh, Patrick Glynn.

HUDDERSFIELD-Patrick Hopkins.

HULL, CENTRAL-T. W. Morrissey, J. B. O'Neill. East-lames Grayson, John Cunningham, Austin Boyle.

KEIGHLEY, No. 1-James Walsh, T.C.; Michael Howley, T.C. Home RULE-Michael O'Hara, J. T. Carroll.

KIDDERMINSTER, WILLIAM O'BRIEN-John Boyle.

KILBIRNIE, GLADSTONE-Edward M'Intyre, John M'Grath, C. J.

LANARK, SCOTLAND, OWEN ROE O'NEILL-Peter Martin.

LEICESTER, DILLON-T. Irwin.

LONGTON, O'CONNELL-Patrick Howley.

LEEDS, DILLON-Martin Silk. GRATTAN-Patrick Coyle. HUNSLETT-Peter Walsh, Rev. M. Dillon. I. N. Club—William Riley, M. O'Donnell, Miss R. O'Neill, Terence O'Neill, S. M'Farlane, O. Kiernan, Miss M. Durnan, Miss B. Durnan. O'BRIEN-DAVITT— Felix Byrne, Michael Hogan, Miss M. A. Durnan. EMMET-Michael Collins.

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LONDON, BATTERSEA-John Enright. BERMONDSEY-Rev. E. Murnane, J. Moloney, E. Reilly. CLERKENWELL-John Ball. DEPTFORD-James Herlihy. EAST FINSBURY-George Whitehead, James Nolan, FOREST GATE AND UPTON-T. P. O'Halloran. SOUTH ISLINGTON-William Finn, James Madden. Kensington, Sarsfield—Patrick Morris, Michael Walsh, James C. Ahern. Marylebone West—M. C. Walsh, Michael O'Rourke. METROPOLITAN-J. M'Cormack, Frank Porter, R. J. Geraghty, J. Vincent Taaffe, Martin Hoban, Maurice Ahern.

MERTHYR, TYDFIL, WALES, GLADSTONE - William J. Jones, John Morley.

MOTHERWELL, SCOTLAND, A. M. SULLIVAN-Thomas Monaghan. MANCHESTER, DAVITT—Councillor D. M'Cabe, J.P.; Thomas Q. Ruddin, P.L.G.; John Kelly, Patrick Jeffers, F. J. Farley, James Reilly, Luke Hoy, Rev. T. Cusack. Esmonde-Councillor D. Boyle, Michael Smith. O'Connell.—Peter Burke, J. M'Kinnon, James Merry. Poland Street.—Joseph Carney, Patrick Cosgrove. Father Sheehy.—W. H. Gaffney, Martin Ryan, James Rooney,

ARCHBISHOP WALSH-Rev. Patrick Lynch, M.R. NEWPORT, MONMOUTHSHIRE, DAVITT-James De Lacy, Michael

M'Eniry.

NORMANTON, WILLIAM O'BRIEN-Thomas M'Dermott, Thomas Rush, NEWCASTLE ON-TYNE, No. 1-Edward Timlin, P.L.G. BYKER-Thomas Maley. Sexton—John Collins (Newcastle School Board). OLDHAM, CENTRAL—James Byrne, Patrick May.

PAISLEY, JUSTIN M'CARTHY-John M'Carthy. PARTICK, EMMET-Thaddeus M'Govern. PERTH. DILLON-Michael Kerrigan, P.C. PLYMOUTH, THREE TOWNS-P. J. Clarke. PORTSMOUTH-H. D. Rice.

PORT GLASGOW, SARSFIELD-James Fitzpatrick, James M'Loughlin, J.P. Joseph Dunne, Grattan-Thomas Flannery, Felix M'Cluskey.

RAMSBOTTOM, T. P. O'CONNOR—John Keenaghan, T.C. Rochdale, T. P. O'CONNOR—W. H. Capstick.

SOUTHAMPTON, GRATIAN-Florence O'Sullivan, Dr. W. P. O'Meara.

SHIELDS, NORTH-Michael Lydon. SPRINGBURN-Patrick Corr.

STALEYBRIDGE-Peter Hickey

SWANSEA, DAVITT-J. T. O'Hara. SHEFFIELD, I. N. L. CLUB-Thomas Walsh, Thomas Crosby. Davis RYAN-M. J. Flynn.

TALL CROSS, SCOTLAND, EXILE-D. J. M. Quin.

WARRINGTON-John C. Dalton.

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WINGATE, DAVITT—John Mazel.
WORKINGHAM, P. J. POWER—Michael M'Carthy.

WREXHAM-Edward M'Hale.

A O. H., ENGLAND-Thomas Larkin.

A.O.H., SCOTLAND-Michael Fitzpatrick, Patrick Doherty, John Gribbin, Michael M'Inally, Peter Mallon, Bernard Coyle, Richard Stapleton, Samuel Kilpatrick, Daniel Harkins, Thomas Brown, Thomas Flannery, James Gallagher, F. Kierney, James Connor.

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T. J. Hanna.

LIBERAL AND NATIONAL UNION OF ULSTER-Joseph M'Cauley, J.P., solicitor: Rev. Richard Lyttle, Dr. Logan.

A.O.H.B. of Erin-John Crilly.

ARMAGH.

TOWN COMMISSIONERS, KEADY-Michael Smith, chairman; John Nugent, P. Reynolds.

BOARD OF GUARDIANS, ARMAGH-Michael Kelly.

Branches I.N.F.: BLACKWATERTOWN--Henry Lennon, Felix Fox, James Garvey. ARMAGH .- Jas. Donnelly, James M'Mahon, Michael Garvey, Michael P. Rice, Michael O'Hare, Thomas O'Rourke. LURGAN, ARTHUR DONNELLY—Andrew Donnelly, James M'Mullan, Henry McLarnon. Derrymacash—John C. O'Reilly, James Blayney, Henry M'Geown. Loughgilly-John J. M'Parland, John M'Parland, James Kenny. Keady-James M'Kennedy, James Mone, Thomas Kelly.

CARLOW,

Town Commissioners, Carlow.—Michael Molloy.

BOARD OF GUARDIANS, CARLOW-Laurence M Loughlin, Charles F. M'Nally, J.P. Branch I.N.F., Carlow-Michael Molloy, T.C.; Patrick J. Conlon,

J. Kelly.

CAVAN.

Town Commissioners: Cavan-Francis O'Reilly, Bernard Brady, James Galligan, Daniel Reilly, Patrick Ganney, John M'Carron, James Gallagher. COOTEHILL—Andrew Smith. BELTURBET—F. Boland, chairman; P. Farley, P. Fitzpatrick, E. Gleeson, and W. Gillick.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: CAVAN-J. Jones, Bernard O'Connor, F. Maguire, James Gilchreest, Luke Lee. COOTEHILL-John O'Reilly. BAWNBOY-Bernard Kean, Hugh Reynolds, Thomas M'Govern,

Branches I.N.F.: Drung-Patrick Reilly, Francis Reilly. VIRGINIA-John Tierney, J.P.; Thomas M'Cabe, John M'Evoy. MULLAHOVAN AND LOUGHDUFF-Felix M'Manus, Edward O'Reilly.



CLARE.

Town Commissioners: Ennis-M. S. Horan, Michael A. Scanlon. Kilrush-Joseph Finnucane, James Clancy.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: KILDYSART—N. Studdart Gibson, vicechairman. KILRUSH—John Mulqueen. FINISTYMON—Michael Leydon, Patrick Vaughan.

Branches I.N.F.: Ennistymon—John Cassidy, Mathew Curran, Michael O'Brien. Kilrush—James Kelly, John Egan. Ogonnelloe—Dominick Stuart, hon. secretary; Michael Slattery, vice-president; John Corbett, P.L.G. Ffakle—Patrick M'Mahon, Michael Hogan, Thady Kelly. Miltownmalbay—Denis O'Loughlin. Bodyke and Tomgreany—Michael Brady, J.P.; Thomas Scanlon, Denis Tuohy. Killimer and Knockerra—John Hassett, J.P.; Michael Behan, P.L.G.; Thomas Talty. Killaloe—Corney Hayes, Patrick Sheehan, Michael M'Keogh, Michael Scanlan.

Parishes: Kilballyowen—Cornelius Haugh. Kildimo—John Cahill. Killokennedy—John Gunning.—Bradford—P. Vaughan.

CORK.

CORPORATION, CITY OF CORK—Alderman Fitzgerald, Alderman Martin Flavin, J.P.; William Kinmonth, Jeremiah Ahern, John T. O'Donnell. Town Commissioners: Bandon—Thoma Scanlan, chairman; J. Burke. MIDLETON—Richard Fitzgerald, chairman; J. O'Brien. Mallow—Michael Nunan, chairman; Cornelius Buckley, J. Cronin, Stephen O'Dwyer, J.P.; John Golden. Youghal—Richard Carey, J.P., chairman; John Condon, T.C.; James Lynch, T.C.; William Hodnett, solicitor. Clonakilty—Daniel O'Leary, chairman. Fermoy—Edward Byrne, J.P. Queenstown—William Mechan, Timothy Murray, J. H. Campbell. Skibbereen—John Murphy.

Baltimore and Skibbereen Harbour Boards—Patrick Sheely.
Boards of Guardians: Bandon—Edward Graigner, John Harris, Edward M'Carthy, John Kelly. Millstreet—J. J. Corkerry, chairman; Eryan MacSwyney, J.P.; Patrick O'Callagan. Cork—P. J. Scannell, Thomas Fuller, Patrick O'Connor, J. M'Carthy Barry, J. J. Humphreys, P. O'Neill, Michael Murphy. Midleton—Martin Reardon, chairman; T. J. Burke, Michael Buckley, J.P. Mallow—James Byrne, deputy vice-chairman; Cornelius O'Callaghan, D. J. O'Callaghan, Patrick Vaughan, Thomas Barry. Macroom—Michael Healy, J.P.; Daniel M'Carthy, John Moynihan. Mitthelstown—P. Rayleigh, J.P., chairman; Thomas Drake, J.P. Youghal—Thomas V. Farrell, J.P., chairman; Peter Keefe, R. R. Russell, Patrick Linehan. Dunmanway—Michael Connolly, deputy vice-chairman; T. M. Kearney, Jerome Mahoney. Cornelius Reardon. William Cotter, Daniel M'Carthy, C. O'Driscoll. Chull—Edward Roycroft, J.P., chairman; T. Coghlan, deputy vice-chairman; John Kelly. Kanturk—Buckley Daly, chairman; John Linehan, deputy vice-chairman; Charles C. Daly, Patrick Lane. Fermoy—D. Verling, J. Maye, A. Heskin, G. Baylor, J. P. Collins. Kinsale—Jeremiah Bowen. Skibbereen—Daniel M'Carthy, deputy vice-chairman; D. Burke.

Branches I.N.F.: Ballyvourney-Daniel Lynch, M.D., J.P.; Cornelius Lynch, Timothy Twomey. BANDON—Thomas Dinneen, P. J. M'Carthy, solicitor; Thomas Cummins. DUNMANWAY—James H. Purcell, solicitor; Florence Cronley, James M'Carthy. CORK CITY-Thomas Crosbie, proprietor Cork Examiner; Michael Murphy, solicitor; Daniel Horgan, John O'Connor, Michael Ryan, Cornelius Millard, Edmund Russell, William Desmond. KILBRIN-Timothy Dennehy, P.L.G.; John Riordan. BALLINDANGAN-Patrick Hanly, James O'Riordan, John O'Keeste. Doneralle-John O'Connor. KANTURK—Francis J. Bur.on, D. D. Mahony, Thomas Lenchan. Midleton—William Cogan, J.P.; Michael Lynch, T.C.; William Moore. Mallow—P. R. Fitzgibbon, solicitor; Patrick Donovan, Denis Lynch, T.C. Castlelyons—Garrett Verling, E. P. Kent, Cornelius Ronan. Drumtariffe—Bryan M'Sweeney, J.P.; Charles Daly, P.L.G.; J. J. Harlon, M. J. Casey. KILLAVULLEN—William Stackpoole. MITCHELSTOWN-Very Reverend Dean O'Regan, P.P., V.G.; Thomas O'Brien, Michael Cusack. CLONAKILTY-Daniel O'Leary, J.P., chairman, Town Commissioners; Dr. O'Cleary, Stephen O'Brien, solicitor. AGHADA—Edmond Rohan, William Hegarty. DUNGOURNEY AND MOGEELY-J. J. Beechinor, P.L.G. FREEMOUNT—Rev. T. Twomey, Simon J. Barry, V.C.; John Foley. SKIBBEREEN—Rev. T. Kearney, Adm.; Joseph J. Healy, solicitor. BANTRY-William Cotter, P.L.G.; Daniel Donovan, P.L.G.

Parishes: Caheragh—Rev. Thomas Palmer, P.P.; Jeremiah Sweeney, Patrick Hayes, Patrick M'Carthy. Newceston—James Daly, J.P. Enniskern—Patrick Foley. Lallinascarthy—Daniel Nyhan, T. White. Leap—Dr. M. O'Driscoll, J.P.; B. Cullinane, J.P. White-Church—Denis Hegarty, J.P. Innishannon—William Curtin. Douglas—John Collins. Ballyclough—W. Fitzgerald. Blarney—John (Dan) Coleman; Mr. Cort.elius Coakley attended from Agheena parish, Cork. i "Goold—Editiond Stack. Ballyhooly—J. W. Walsh. Castlem. Ryr and Dungowney—J. J. Beechinor, P.L.G. Ballinhassig—Peter O'Neill, P.L.G.; James P. Murphy.

KILWORTH-John Hanlon.

CORK NATIONAL SOCIETY—Thomas Lynch, George Croshie, B.L.; P. D. O'Brien, J.P.; Thomas Dooley, Thomas Goggin.

DONEGAL.

BALLYSHANNON TOWN COMMISSIONERS- James Moohan.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: MILFORD—Robert A. Whyte, J. A. Diamoud STRANORLAR—Francis Callaghan, deputy vice-chairman; Tague M'Gee, J.P.; Patrick M'Dermott, J.P. Donegal—Hugh M'Ginty, William M'Devitt, Michael Dunnion. Glenties—John O'Donnell, J.P.; John Sweeney, John Kilbride. Ballyshannon—P. J. Fergas, chairman; Michael Cassidy, J.P., vice-chairman; James M'Gurran, deputy vice-chairman. Innishowen—Michael White, vice-chairman; Bernard Hannigan, J.P.

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DOWN.

Town Commissioners: Newry—Patrick Connolly, M. J. M'Cartan, Mathew J. Dowdall, James Rice. Bannridge—Bernard M'Givern. BOARDS of GUARDIANS: Newry—John O'Hare, vice-chairman; John Lowry, William Ronan, J.P.; Edward Lowry, J.P.; Samuel M'Court, Daniel Maginn, Laurence M'Court, Michael M'Cartan, J.P. (Governor Co. Down Asylum); John Campbell. Bannridge—James Rooney, James Maguire, J.P. Newtownards—R. B. Caughey.

Branches I.N.F.: Ballyholland and Grinan—Hugh M'Nally, John Ryan, Terence M'Laughlin. Banbridge—John S. Farrell, solicitor; John Flanigan, Peter M'Givern. Barnmeen—H. Mallon. Burran—James Byrne, James Woods. John M'Grath. Hilltown—Joseph M'Polin, Andrew Murphy, James M'Aleavey, J. T. M'Laughlin, J.P.; Edward Lowry, J.P. Kilcoo—John Magee, Peter Fitzpatrick, Peter M'Polin. Mayobridge—James Loughran, John O'Hare, Bernard Kelly, John Downey. Warrenpoint—William J. M'Cornish, Michael Higgins. Tullylish and Gilford—Henry M'Inerney, Hugh Molloy. Downpatrick—D. M'Cartan, solicitor; Philip M'Cartan. Newry—James Rice, T.C.

PARISHES: ANNACIONE—Dr. Fegan. Don. GHMORE—Rev. F. M'Lough-

lin, P.P.; John M'Avoy.

A. O. H., BOARD OF ERIN-P. M'Gennis.

DUBLIN.

DUBLIN CORPORATION-Alderman R. Toole.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: NORTH DUBLIN-John M'Donnell, J.P.

BALROTHERY-P. M'Cabe, James Clinton.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: BLACKROCK—T. M'Grath, Mathew A. Lazenby, John Nugent, hon. sec. CLONDALKIN—Michael Coghlan, Christopher Hanlon, Bernard Dowd. DRUMCONDRA—Michael F. Mooney, Oliver J. O'Connor, Patrick M'Ardle. RATHMINES AND HAROLD'S CROSS—Arthur Hanlon, Patrick Cumming, John M'Donnell. BALBRIGGAN—James Tolan, John Knox, Richard M'Cabe. SAGGART, RATHCOOL AND NEWCASTLE—John M'Cann, Joseph Coonan, Peter Daly. ARRAN QUAY WARD—Denis Moran, Francis Gibney, John J. Richmond, St. Patrick's—William O'Brien, — Byrne, E. Brennan. EDMUND BURKE LITERARY AND DEBATING SOCIETY—H. J. M'Cann,

president; Frederick Ryan, auditor.

FAWCETT ASSOCIATION, DUBLIN BRANCH-John T. Kelly.

FERMANAGH.

ENNISKILLEN TOWN COMMISSIONERS—Hugh R. Lindsay, chairman; J. M'Govern, Patrick Crumley, J.P.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: ENNISKILLEN—Francis Maguire, — M'Quaid, Arthur Duggan, J.P. LISNASKEA—James Mulligan, J.P.; Thomas Mortimer. IRVINESTOWN—James Mulhern, — Teague.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: ARNEY—Philip M'Gloney, James Curran, Francis Keenan. Enniskillen—Edward Meagher, Joseph Cox, Bernard Coyle. Aughalurcher—Edward Morris Flanagan, Peter Crudden. Newtownbutler—Michael Harte, James M'Kiernan, A. Maguirc. Irvinestown and Whitehall—John Lee, Patrick O'Reilly, John Woods.

A. O. H., BOARD OF ERIN-James M'Kiernan, Charles Curry, Luke Drum, James Malone.

GALWAY.

Town Commissioners: Galway—Francis Lydon. Ballinasloe— John Cogavin. Tuam—Patrick Culkin, chairman; John M Philphin, John G. Glynn, John Patterson, Patrick Glynn.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: LOUGHREA—Michael Clasby, Ulick Bourke, Stephen Ruane. Gort—John Burke. Glenamaddy—J. Keavney, A. Keenan, Martin Freeney. WOODFORD: -J. Blake. PORTUMNA—J. P. Page. TUAM—Patrick Glynn, Francis Tanman. Ballinasloe—Timothy O'Connell, William Rorke. Galway—Martin Cunningham, A. G. Scott. Oughterard—Patrick Corroy. Clefder—Patrick

O'Hara. MOUNTBELLEW—James Naughton, Thomas Graigner.
BRANCHES I.N.F.: TUAM—Thomas Flately, T.C.; P. Lyons, P.L.G.;
Francis Maher. BALLINASLOE—W. J. Coselloe, John Egan, John
Donovan, James Kilmartin. TIERNASCRA—James Gibbons, William
Hogan, John Nevin. GALWAY—Very Rev. P. Dooley, P.P.; Rev.
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Henehan, John Connolly, T. G. Finnerty, J. Sweeny. LOUGHREA—
John Sweeny, T.C.; Patrick Connolly, T.C.; Thomas Mulkern,
W. J. Duffy, Edward O'Dea. WOODFORD—Dr. Keary, F. Roche,
J. Roche, M.P.

Parishes: Dunmore—Thomas Fahy, Glenamady—Martin B. Collins. Headford—William Kyne,

KERRY.

TRALEE TOWN COMMISSIONERS-M. J. Kelleher, J.P.; Jeremiah

O'Keeffe, John O'Donnell, Thomas Slattery, John O'Connor.
BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: KENMARE—David Doran, vice-chairman; John Gain, deputy vice-chairman; P. J. O'Sullivan. LISTOWEL—M. J. Nolan, J.P.; William Fitzgerald, E. J. Stack, J.P.; F. Fitzgerald, J.P. TRALEE—Jeremiah Roche, chairman; Thomas Kearney, J. K. O'Connor, Eugene O'Connor, John O'Donnell, M. M'Mahon, J.P.; F. O'Sullivan, J.P.; J. Leonard, J.P.; T. Gaivin, J.P.; George

BRANCHES I.N.F.: TRALEE—St. J. H. Donovan, J.P., T.C.; Thomas O'Regan, T.C.; T. J. Healy. Glenflesk and Barraduff—Daniel Lynch, Denis Lynch, Michael Doherty. Ballylongford—James Brassil, Patrick Ahern, Patrick Stack. DINGLE—Timothy M. O'Flaherty, Michael T. Moriarty. Kenmare—Daniel J. O'Sullivan, Laurence Egan, Timothy J. O'Sullivan. Killarney—Daniel O'Shea, James O'Leary, Daniel J. O'Connor.

PARISHES: LISTOWEL—Jeremiah Kennelly, ASDEE—Nicholas Mulvihill. Fossa—Daniel D. Sheehan.

BALLYLONGFORD YOUNG IRELAND SOCIETY-Joseph N. O'Sulli, an. John Farrell.

LISTOWEL YOUNG IRELAND SOCIETY-M. J. Flavin, M.P.; J. F. Cronin.

KILDARE.

TOWN COMMISSIONERS: ATHY-P. J. Murphy, Thomas Hickey. NAAS

—Edward Byrne.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: NAAS-Edward Fenlon, chairman; Patrick Driver, Bartle Kelly, Peter Healy, J. P. Moore, J.P.; Denis Nolan, Patrick Dunne, Thomas Walshe. ATHY—Michael Treacy, Hugh Nolan, James Julian, Michael Hickey, John M'Loughlin, W. Hughes. Branches I.N.F.: Allen-John Cribbin, Daniel Healy, J. Morrin.

Castledermott—Thomas Byrne, John Delany, Michael J. Aylmer. Narraghmore—Jeremiah Kenna, Peter Cullen, Andrew Costello. NEWBRIDGE-Patrick Flood, Thomas Pringle, M. O'Shaughnessy. SUNCROFT-James Kelly, J.P.; James Morrin, Nicholas Cullen. Nurney—Thomas O'Beirne. ATHY—Patrick Knowles, David Walsh, Stephen O'Brien. Naas—William Staples, Patrick Cunningham, John Grehan, James Hyland, P. J. Doyle. CARAGH AND PROSPEROUS -Edward Ennis, Edward Fitzharris, William Tierney. Twomilis-BORRIS-Joseph O'Connor, James Brennan, Henry Dillon.

MILTOWN PARISH-John Tiernan.

KILKENNY.

CORPORATION, CITY OF KILKENNY-Major P. O'Leary, Mayor; Alderman Thomas Cantwell, Alderman Murphy, M. Ring.

CALLAN TOWN COMMISSIONERS—James Pollard.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: CALLAN—James Power, chairman; W. F. Mullally, J.P.; M. Gleeson, Patrick Fennelly, V.C.; James Cahill, J.P.; Philip Lynch. Urlingford—William De Courcey, chairman; Arthur Cavanagh, R. Rafter, Maurice Kelly. CASTLECOMER-Michael Brennan, John Rowe, Jeffrey Brennan. THOMASTOWN—Michael Doyle, jun., chairman; Michael Hogan, vice-chairman.

Branches I.N.F.; WINDGAP-John Comerford, James Landy, Edward Cornan. JOHN TOWN AND CROSSPATRICK-Joseph Delany, Martin Brennan, John Broderick, Robert Rafter, P.L.G.; J. Phelan, P.L.G. THOMASTOWN—Michael Hogan, Peter Carron, Thomas Whelan. SLIEVERUE—Michael Rock, Patrick Grant. MUCKALEE—Charles Copley, Michael Moran, Henry Sherman, Samuel Copley. St. John's, KILKENNY-D. Guilfoyle, John Barrett, P.L.G.; J. Morrissey, P.L.G. GALMOY PARISH-Arthur Kavanagh, P.L.G.; Richard Gannon.

KING'S COUNTY.

TOWN COMMISSIONERS: BIRR-J. C. Moran. TULLAMORE-Joseph Ryan, Henry Egan.

BOARDS OF GUARDIAMS: PARSONSTOWN—Michael Dooley, deputy vice-chairman; John Powell. TULLAMORE—Richard Kelly. EDENDERRY BRANCH I.N.F.—Thomas Groome, James Byrne.

Parishes: Ballinahown-Robert Dalton, P.I.G. MILLANE-Peter Seahill, P.L.G.

LEITRIM.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: CARRICK-ON-SHANNON--John Fox, deputy vice-chairman; Peter Caslin, James Pakenham, J.P.; Thomas Beirne, Thomas Duignam, J.P. MOHILL—Robert P. Wallace, Michael Murphy. Manorhamilton—John Dolan, chairman; Thomas Fallon, deputy vice-chairman; M. Devaney, Myles Woods, John M'Guinness, John Mechan, Patrick Clancy.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: BORNACOOLA—Patrick M'Gushin, Michael Canning. Drumshambo—Francis Conway, James Cooney. Drumsna—Thomas W. Daly, Patrick M'Nabola, Francis Daly. Lower Drumreilly—Thomas M'Govern, Laurence Dolan, Patrick Prior. Ballinagleragii—Rev. Thomas M'Gauran, P.P.; James J. Flynn. Kiltubrid—Thomas Beirne, Michael Judge. Mohill—John M. Mulligan, James Reilly. Glenfarne—John Keany, president. Drumkeerin—T. Ward, P.L.G.; P. Keaveney. Rossinver—Myles M'Koown. Manorhamilton—James Synott, jun. Drumlease—John J. Rorke. Killinumery—John Kelly, Patrick Kaveney. Killasnet—Patrick Lea, Patrick Fox (Frank), M. Devaney, P.L.G. Fenagh—Rev. D. Gray, P.P.; Bernard Hetherton.

LIMERICK.

CORPORATION, CITY OF LIMERICK—Alderman Stephen O'Mara, P. E. Bourke, J.P.; Patrick O'Neill, Michael Spain, Patrick Tracey.

RATHKEALE TOWN COMMISSIONERS—John Fremen, John Ambrose.
BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: LIMERICK—Thomas B. Mitchell, vice-chairman;
T. Lane, Edmun I. M. Kirby, R. T. O'Kennedy, J.P.; Patrick
Connolly. RATHKE ME—Daniel O'Brien, James O'Connor, P. Fitzsimons. KLMALLOCK—J. Ryan, J.P.; James Lyons, E. Barry.
CROOM—Michael O'Brien. Newcastle West—D. O'Leary Hannigan, J.P.

BRANCHES L.N.F.; ABBEYFEALE—Rev. W. Casey, P.P.; M. Moloney, P.L.G.; George Barry, William O'Sullivan, John H. Banaher. ATHEA—John M. White, Patrick Griffin, T. D. Danaher. Grange—D. S. O'Connell, N. J. Hayes. KILTEALY—David O'Meara, David Barry, John O'Mahonv. RATHKEALE—John Burke, Patrick Barrett, Timothy Cusack, T.C.; J. H. Danaher. LIMBRICK CITY—J. H. Roche, J. J. Ryan, E. J. Long, Fedamore—W. J. Clancy, Michael Fielly, Henry Casey. KILFINANE—James Galligan, John Doherty, David J. Condon. Stonehall—Timothy Foley, Michael Madigan. Herbertstown—Michael B. Moroney, John Condon, Thomas J. Moroney. Ballythahill—Daniel M'Coy, P.L.G.; P. Danagher, R. Fitzgerald. Murroe And Doher—Very Rev. Michael Ryan, P.P., V.F.; William Fitzgerald, P.L.G.; Bryan Kennedy, John J. Ryan, Daniel Ryan, John O'Meara, John Ryan, John Humphreys, Cappamore—Patrick Duggan, P.L.G.; Martin Ryan, T. Corboy, D. M. English. Pallasgreen—Michael Cunningham, P.L.G.; Patrick Ryan, John M'Grith. Patrickswell and Ballybrown—Michael Mulqueen, James Dundon, John Costello. Oola—Daniel Ryan, P.L.G.; Timothy Hayes, Morgan Hayes. Anglesboro'—Rev. T. Canty, C.C.; John English, jun.; Jeremiah O'Donnell. Hospital—Very Rev. Canon Scully, P.P.; Rev. Hugh Mockler,

Michael O'Donnell, James Hannon. GLIN—Francis Fitzgerald, J.P.; David Riddle, P.L.G. ROCKHILL AND BRUREE—Thomas Potter, Patrick Horgan, Jeremiah Donworth. ASKEATON—Michael Feheny, John Lynch, Thomas Ryan. SHANAGOLDEN—David O'Brien, Patrick Madigan, Maurice Fitzgibbon Doon—John Ryan, Patrick Kilbride, James Ryan. KNOCKANY—John Casey, Edmond Byrnes, John O'Kane.

TEMPLEGLANTINE PARISH-Michael Wren.

LONDONDERRY.

MAGHERAFELT BOARD OF GUARDIANS-Felix Ferran, J.P.; Charles

Rogers, J.P.; James Shivers.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: Bellaghy—Charles Agnew, Joseph Davison, John Kearney. Lissan—T. Crilly, J.P.; John Hagan, Felix M'Cracken. Maghera—Daniel Lagan, J. M'Kenna, M. M'Closker. Maghera—ELT—Roger Convery, Thomas Larkin, John Kane. Moneymore (Thomas Sexton)—Henry Devlin, J.P.; F. 1 ughes, Patrick Devlin. Ballinascreen—Michael Obern, J.P.; F. 1 ughes, Patrick Devlin. Swaterach—Michael Doherty, J. M'Keefry. Derry (M'Carthy)—Daniel M'Bride, James M'Gowan, Daniel Gallivan.

LONGFORD.

Town Commissioners: Longford—Matthew Farrell, John Mathews, Joseph Maguire. Granard—Francis Reilly, Chairman.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: LONGFORD—Michael Kiernar, Thomas Duffy, William Farrell. Granard—John Kenny, Thomas Reilly, George

Walker. Ballymanon—Joseph Flood.

Branches I.N.F.: CLONBRONEY—James O'Neill, John Connolly, P. Duffy. Drumlish and Ballinamuck—Patrick Dervine, J. Reynolds, Patrick Masterson. Longford—Joseph Wilson, Robert Noud, Owen Victory. Granard—Thomas Dawson, Owen Carney, P.L.G.; Richard Harte. Clongush—William Prunty, Michael Drike.

PARISHES: DROMARD-P. Duignan, Matthew Gray, CLOUGH-Mr. Gerety.

RATHCLINE GAELIC CLUB .- John Rhatigan.

LOUTH.

CORPORATION, CITY OF DROGHEDA—Peter Lynch, Mayor; Alderman Simon Jordan, T. Tallon, John Slevin, Thomas Callan, J. Drew, John Dolan, William T. Skeffington.

HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA-Francis Gogarty, T.C.

Drogheda Harbour Board.—Joseph Connolly, R.N.; R. Nulty, James P. Kelly.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: DROGHEDA—John Feehan, Patrick Reddy, L. Moore, F. Smith. DUNDALK—M. O'Meara, P. Hughes. Ardee—

Joseph Dolan.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: COLLON—John Drumgoole, Matthew Downey, Bernard Cook. DROGHEDA—M. A. Casey, T. H. Clancy, Patrick M'Quail. Monasterboice—James Dolan, James M'Donnell, John Mullen. Inniskeen—James Gartlan, James Callan. Sandpit—Laurence M'Keown, Patrick Devin, L. Flin. Reachstown and Tallanstown—Thomas Ward, James M'Keever.

PARISHES: KNOCKBRIDGE-N. B. King, P.L.G. MORNINGTON AND BETTYSTOWN—David Aherne. KILLANY—James Green.

IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS (BRANCH T. P. GILL, No. 159).—James Gray, C.R.; Patrick Waters, secretary; John Blake.

MAYO.

Town Commissioners: Westport—Michael Browne, William Scott, Patrick Toole. Castlebar—James Gill.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: SWINFORD—M. C. Henry, chairman; J. Irwin, vice-chairman; Francis Kean, J.P.; John Davitt, Mark Waldron, Francis Davitt, W. J. Waldron, Thomas Roughneen. WESTFORT—John Flannery, John Curran, John Walsh, A. O'Malley, Thomas Joyce, William Joyce. Foxford—T. E. Gallagher. Castlebar—Patrick Vahey, Chairman; William O'Malley. CLAREMORRIS—M. M. Waldron, vice-chairman.

Branches I.N.F.: Achill—Rev. J. P. Connolly, P. P.; Anthony Mullery, Joseph Tully, Rev. M. Hennelly, C.C. Ballyhaunis—Rev. J. R. Canning, P. P.; Michael Delaney, P. L. G.; James Grealy. Kiltimagh—M. O'Donnell, J. P.; Thomas Roughan, P. L. G.; Charles Burke, Thomas Gallagher, Miss Amy Mander. Knock—James Connell, Martin M'Loughlin, Francis Burke. Midfield—John Davitt. Killasser—Rev. J. M'Keon, C.C.; Patrick Gallagher, P. L. G.; Patrick M'Helf, Newport—William Chambers, John M'Govern. Bekan —Rev. B. G. Freely, P. P.; Martin Healy, Thomas Connell. Clogier—Dr. Ambrose, M. P.; William Doris, John O'Donnell. Swinford—P. M. Henry. Aughamoze—William J. Waldron, Darby Glavy, Martin Henry. Kilmeena and Kilmaclasser—Rev. Father Healy, Adm.; Austin Gibbons, John O'Donnell, Wm. Rice. Ballaghadereen—Thomas Spelman, John Casey, B. M'Dermott, J. P. Jordan, James Cawley. Tiernaur—John Curran, P. L. G.; Hugh Moran.

lespie, Dr. Jordan, James Daly. Kilmovee—Very Rev. Canon O'Hara, John Irwin, P.L.G.; B. Flannery, Patrick Cox, John Reid. Louisburgii Parish—Thomas Lyons, P.L.G.

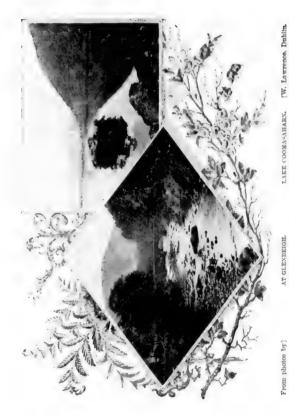
MEATH.

BALLA-Thomas Reilly, Malachy Henegan. Castlebar-P. Gil-

Town Commissioners: Navan-Patrick Sheridan. Kells-John S. Kelly.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: NAVAN— Francis Sheridan, chairman; Lawrence Rowan, vice-chairman; Joseph Keappock. Kells—Patrick Farrelly, T. P. M'Kenna. TRIM—Joseph Quirke. OLDCASTLE—James Tutte, John Gilsenan, Patrick Gaynor.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: KILCLOONE—John Leonard, William Moore, Thomas Dillon. Coole—Michael Connolly, Patrick Kerrigan, John Jiles. Slane—Joseph Maken, J.P.; John M'Donough, Thomas Wall. STAMULLEN AND JULIANSTOWN—Richard Drew, James Bagnal, Edward F. Malone. Dunshaughlin—L. T. Canning, A. Mahon, John M'Entee.



CO. KERRY.

MONAGHAN.

TOWN COMMISSIONERS: CARRICKMACROSS—James Daly, M.P., chairman; Thomas Phelan, J.P.; J. J. Downs, J.P.; Anthony Clinton, Patrick M'Nally, James Keenan, Owen J. Smith, Peter Dwyer, Owen Sherry, BALLYBAY—Bernard M'Kenna, chairman; S. P. Smyth, Patrick Connolly, James Hanratty.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: MONAGHAN—Edward Maguire, F. Hughes. CLONES—Edward P. Murray, Jason Graham. Castleblayney—Francis Connolly, J.P.; James Ward, Jaries Duffy, John Duffy. Carrickmacross—Thomas Phelan, J.P., chairman; Peter Dwyer, James Daly, J.P.

Branches I.N.F.: Corduff—Peter Kelaghan, James Hand, James O'Connor, Francis O'Connor. Clones—Edward Brady, Edward Moore, Hugh M'Donald, William M'Phillip, jun.; James M'Govern. Monaghan—D. C. Rushe, solicitor; James Moreton, William Ward. Achabov—Edward M'Phillips, Joseph Duffy, James Brady. Carrickmacross—John D. M'Veigh, Richard Boyle, John Shankey. CLONTIBRET—James Mohan, Henry M'Adam, Patrick Brennan, Patrick M'Kernan, James Coleman, Patrick Walsh, Patrick Lavelle. Corcachan and Theremilehouse—Bernard Clerkin, J.P.; John M'Conville, Owen Kerans. Tullycorbet—John Boylan, Thomas M'Carney, James Boylan. Killevan—Charles Toal, James Quigley. Errigal Truagh—Peter M'Kenna, Owen M'Kenna, Arthur Ireland.

Parishes: Currin—John Fitzpatrick, TyhoLland—James Hughes, Magheracloone—Patrick M'Curke, P.L.G.; Owen Lamb, Donaghmoyne—John Daly.

CARRICKMACROSS TRADE AND LABOUR LEAGUE—John Martin, Patrick Coyle,

QUEEN'S COUNTY.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: MOUNTMELLICK—Michael Kinsella, P.I..G.; John Carroll. Abbeyleix—James M'Mahon, J.P., deputy vicechairman; James M'Evoy.

Branches I.N.F.: Killasmeestia, Knockaroo, and Borris-in-Ossory—Thomas Lowery, J.P.; Patrick Kayadagh, Richard M'Evoy. Bally-Adams and Wolffill—Thomas Breen, John Healy, Edward Whelan. Kyle—Richard Moloney, Denis Egan, Thomas Delany. Knock—Michael Brennan, Thomas Kealey. Camross—Patrick Kelly, Thos. Costigan, Thomas Delaney. Aghaboe and Ballacolla—John Carroll, P.L.G.; Laurence Commins, Joseph Hart. Ballyroan—Patrick Campion, Denis Delaney, Michael Kehoe. Durrow and Cullohill—John Clancy, P.L.G.; Daniel Bergin, P.L.G.; Michael Molloy, Very Rev. Canon Shortall, P.P., V.F.; Rev. E. Brennan, C.C. Raheen—William Parkinson, Patrick Parkinson, John Maher.

KILLESHIN PARISH-P. Brennan.

ROSCOMMON.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: STROKESTOWN—James Neary, J.P.; M. J. Hanly, J.P.; H. Owens. Roscommon—William J. Hanly.

Branches I.N.F.: Drumlion—Michael Keegan. Kilmore—P J. Connellan, Patrick Beirne, Michael Doherty. Tulsk—Bernard M'Gann, James Dufficy. Tarmonbarry—Michael Fallon, Thomas Geraghty, Patrick Igoe. Ballyoughter and Kilmargel—Joseph Feely. Castlerea—James M'Loughlin, P. G. M'Conville, E. J. M'Dermott. Crossna—Patrick Regan, Edward Doyle, Patrick Connolly. Kiltulagh—Patrick M'Cormick, Thomas Donelan, Michael Higgins, Michael Murphy, Michael Lofus. Carrigeknroe—Michael M'Dermott, James J. Nangle.

SLIGO.

CORPORATION, CITY OF SLIGO—P. A. M'Hugh, M.P., Mayor; Owen Dolan, Thomas Hannery, John J. Keenan, J.P.; F. N. White, J.P. BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: SLIGO—W. A. Mitchell, Patrick Kelly, James D. O'Brien, Patrick Flynn, Patrick Beirne. DROMORE WEST—Peter S. Kilgallen. Tubbercurry—P. J. O'Dowd, James N. Durkan.

Branches I.N.F.: Ballymote—James Hannon, J.P.; James Walsh, treasurer; John Gilmartin, assistant secretary; John J. M'Getrick. Bunninadden—John O'Dowd, President; Thomas Hunt, P.L.G.; Michael Gormley. Cloonloo—Patrick M'Manamy. Mullinabreen.—Denis Gallagher, Peter Foye, Neill O'Donnell. Riverstown—John H. Judge, Michael Brennan, Thomas M'Donagh. Sligo—Martin Mulligan, Thomas Flanigan, Charles Sweeney. Soofy—Patrick Clerkin, William Flanagan, John M'Loughlin. Drumcliffe—Matthew Scanlan, Patrick Devine. Moylough—Patrick J. O'Dowd, P.L.G.; Michael J. O'Connor, John Davitt. Ballintogher.—E. A. Brennan, Thomas Mulrooney, James Gilmartin. Keash—J. M. Cryan, Michael Gray, P.L.G. Geevagh—T. J. Nangle, James M'Donagh, James Waters, Michael Harte. Highwood—Peter Conlon, Michael M'Donagh. Ballyrush—John Walsh, James Lyons. Collooney—P. D. Harte, D. P. Bree, Dominick Benson.

TIPPERARY.

CLONMEL CORPORATION—Alderman Nugent, Mayor: John F. O'Briem Town Clerk; James White, John Magner, John F. Slattery.

TOWN COMMISSIONERS: NENAGH—James Hogan, Dr. H. F. Powell, J.P.; John J. Tumpane, J.P.; M. M'Mahon, Dr. W. Courtney, J.P.; P. J. O'Brien, F. R. Moloney, Town Clerk. FETHARD—M. Coffey, John Wall, Richard Maher. Thurles—Thomas Ryan. Carrick-on-Sur—Edmund Burke.

Templemore—John Connolly, John Walsh, Thomas Morkan.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: CASHEL—James Walsh, chairman; Richard O'Connell, Timothy Fahy, William Maher, T. Cahill, Paul Cusack, Patrick Moclair. Tipperary—Patrick Duggan, Robert Gubbins, J.P.; John Kelly, D. Ryan. Borrisokane—James Cahalanc, John Costello, J.P.; Michael Tuohy. Thurles—Thomas Collier, chairman; Patrick Finn, vice-chairman; Patrick Maher, T. Harney. Clogheen—E. Riordan, chairman; P. O'Donnell, J.P.; P. Keating, Michael Ahern. Roscrea—Michael Loughman, M. Farrell, James Fitzpatrick, Patrick Egan. Carrick-on-Suir.—John Shea, William Britton, J.P.; William Hearn, J.P. Nenagh—Thomas Burke, Vice-

chairman; Thomas O'Brien, deputy vice-chairman; Thomas M'Soley, Laurence Butler, William Carroll, Stephen Seymour, Patrick

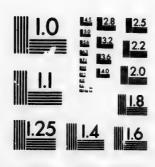
Kennedy, Thomas Ryan, J.P.

Branches I.N.F.: Arderoney-James Costello, J.P.; Denis Hogan, Thomas Doheny. BORRISOKANE - Michael Costello, M'Kenna. CLERIHAN-John Moclair, Denis Hunt, William Slattery. CLOONEEN-Thomas O'Halloran, Robert H. O'Shea Wm. Tobin. CLOUGHJORDAN-Stephen Maher, William Moylan, Patrick M'Carthy. DUHILL-Patrick J. Walsh, Thomas Prendergast, Jeremiah Hanrahan, EGLISH-Patrick Ryan, Denis Meara, P.L.G.; Thomas Moylan. GRANGEMOCKLER-John P. Fox, James Cahill, Pierce Walsh. HOLY-CROSS—Philip Dwyer, James Heffernan, John Ryan. KILRUANE—Michael Flannery, P.L.G.; George O'Leary, Cornelius Cleary. New INN AND KNOCKGRAFFIN- Andrew Hennessey, P.L.G.; John Smyth, John Smyth, Michael Purcell. MALLYCAHILL-Michael Dwyer, James Bannon, John Maher. Sologhead-James English, John M'Carthy, John Ryan, P.L.G. Grange—Thomas Keating, David Hickey, John Sullivan. Templederry—Thomas Burke, P.L.G.; James Harrington, Michael Donohoe. LORRA AND DORRHA-Thomas Haugh, J.P.; Michael O'Donohoe, J.P.; Michael Hogan, P.L.G. ARDFINAN AND BALLYBACON—John J. Lonergan. CAHIR—William O'Loghnan, P.L.G.; Patrick Hennessy, P.L.G.; Thomas Ryar. CASHEL— Michael Devitt, Philip Hickey, James Hanly. Kilffeacle—John Fogarty, James Butler, Thomas Cleary. Mullinahone—Thomas O'Brien, Patrick Egan, John Gorman. Thurles—Patrick Finn, Patrick Darmody, James K. Moloney. BALLYLOOBY—Patrick Keating, P.L.G. CLONMOULTY AND ROSSMORE—John Byrne, P.L.G.; Cornelius O'Dwyer, Daniel Byrne, John Murphy. Moyne-James Maher, Richard Quinn, Michael Fogarty. Knocknavella and DONNASKEIGH-John M'Grath, Denis Kelly, William Ryan. Kil-SHEELAN-Michael O'Shea. KILCASH-Patrick S. Manning, John Quinlan, Patrick O'Shea. BOHERLAHAN-Michael Ryan, P.L.G; Richard Hennessy, P.L.G.; William O'Brien. FETHARD-James Smith, Thomas Frehy, Redmond Burke. KILLUSTV—Thomas Keane, Jerome Duggan, John Walsh. CARRICK-ON-SUIR—Thomas A. Lynch, solicitor; Richard Walsh (president Young Ireland Society), John Quirke. Castleiny-Michael O'Connell, John Sheppard. Newcastle Power Castle Castle Country, on Stephant New Castle Cullinan. TERRYGLASS-James Cahalan, P.I., G.; Michael Flannery. GOLDEN-Rev. M. M'Donnell, P.P.; Patrick Merrick, J.P.; William D'Alton, UPPERCHURCH-James Kennedy, J.P.; Timothy Ryan, KILLEA-Edward Fogarty, P. A. Ryan, Richard Ryan. CLONMEL-Jeremiah Condon, Thomas Fennessy, John Pike. TEMPLEMORE— F. J. Searson, Thomas Comerford, T.C.; Michael Harney. Mov-CARKEY—John Molumby, William Fogarty, T. Maher, P. T. Hogan.

Parishes: Newtown—Patrick Toole. Drom—James Hoare, Kil-Barron—Patrick Cleary. Terryglass—Michael Flannery. Two-

MILE BORKIS-Daniel Hayes, Thomas Fanning.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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TIPPERARY AND LIMERICK FARMERS' SOCIETY-John Conway, Denis Quinlan, P.L.G.; J. R. M'Cormack.

KNOCKAVILLA FOOTBALL CLUB-Denis Tierney, James Madden, William Ryan.

BALLINGARRY GAELIC ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION-T. J. Power.

IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS (CLONMEL)-John Cunningham, C.R.; Philip Bulhert, secretary.

TYRONE.

Town Commissioners: Cookstown-Patrick Corr. Strabane-John

M'Crossan, John Torish.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: COOKSTOWN—Bernard Quin, J.P., deputy vice-chairman; M. M'Guirk, B. M'Guirk, Thomas Eccles. OMAGH-Charles Clarke. Strabane—Patrick Boyle, M. M'Aleer. Dungannon—William Edwards, Joseph C. Falls, J.P.; P. M'Kean, J.P.; James Quinn. Clogher—Michael M'Elmeel.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: CLONOE-John Connolly, Patrick Corr, Joseph M'Guinness. FINTONA—Patrick Meehan, J.P.; James M'Quade, Daniel M'Nulty. Carpickmore—T.O'Neill. Greencastle—James Donnelly, Hugh Keenan, Patrick Conway. KILLETER—Rev. J. O'Kane, P.P. LOWER BADONEY-Charles Clark, Hugh M'Cullough, Peter M'Cullough. Arbor-Felix Taggart, Felix Laverty, Alphonsus Quin. OMAGH AND CAPPAGH—Hugh Campbell, Michael Mullen, Edward Phillips. Pomeroy-John M'Guirk, Hugh Hagan, Francis COALISLAND-John M'Cudden, James Toner. Donagh-MORE—John Campbell, David Loughnan, Henry O'Neill. DUNGANNON —John A. Quinn, James Rodgers, Joseph Madden. Kildress—Bernard Quin, J.P.; M. M'Gurk, B. M'Gurk. Clooher—Rev. J. Rapmond, C.C. Caledon—James Wilson, Francis J. Cullen. Cookstown—Michael Quinn, W. J. Harbinson, Patrick M'Larnon, T. J. Harbinson. Strabane—John M'Crossan, T.C.; J. E. Maguire, B.A.

PARISHES: DROMORE-Patrick Muldoon. Eglish-T. M'Connell. KILSKEERY (Co. TYRONE)-Mr. Thomas Charleton, Michael Keenan, Jas. M'Quaid, P.L.G.; Édward Teague, P.L.G.

IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS (BRANCH WILLIAM ORR, 189)-James

Mayne, C.R. A.O.H., BOARD OF ERIN-Michael Keenan, James Devlin.

WATERFORD.

CORPORATION, CITY OF WATERFORD. - Alderman W. J. Smyth, Mayor; Alderman Richard Power, J.P.; John Curran, David M'Donald, Richard Hearn, J.F.; A. S. Furlong.

BOARDS OF GUARDIANS: WATERFORD-J. Dunphy. DUNGARVAN-James Queally, John V. Kiely, J.P.; Thomas Power, Thomas Flynn,

John Walsh. LISMORE-A. Heskin, P.L.G.

Branches I.N.F.: Kilrossinty and Fews—Richard Costin, secretary.

Abbeyside—John Green. Carrickbeg—Patrick Walsh, Edmond Walsh, Thomas Healy. Dungarvan—Captain John Veale, Patrick O'Brien, T.C.; John M'Carthy, P.L.G., deputy vice-chairman.

WATERFORD CITY-Alderman Richard Power, J.P.; John Curran, T.C. Ballygunner—John Delahunty, P.L.G.; Patrick Phelan. SCART—Michael Walsh, P.L.G.; Patrick Sheehan, P.L.G.

PARISHES: KILGOBNET-John White. NEWTOWN-Patrick Nugent. OLD-Thomas O'Connor. TRAMORE-M. C. Murphy. DRUMRUSH-James Hearn.

WATERFORD NATIONAL AND COMMERCIAL CLUB.-John Hayes, William Oueally, J. E. O'Mahony.

WESTMEATH.

ATHLONE TOWN COMMISSIONERS.—D. O'Donnell, William Hannon.

MULLINGAR BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—James King.

ROCHFORDBRIDGE BRANCH I.N.F .- Lawrence Galvin, Martin Quinn, jun. IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS BRANCH, MULLINGAR (No. 262)-John O'Sullivan, C.R.

MULLINGAR NATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S CLUB.—George Byrne, Michae' Murtagh.

WEXFORD.

CORPORATION, CITY OF WEXFORD-Michael O'Connor.

ENNISCORTHY TOWN COMMISSIONERS-John Bolger, chairman; Mathew Ryan, G. Dempsey.

GOREY BOARD OF GUARDIANS-John M'Dermott, J.P.; P. Sullivan.

Branches I.N.F.: Craanford and Monaseed—Daniel Kennedy, P.L.G.; Michael Lyons. Cushionstown—James Furlong, William Kehoe, Michael Cloney, John Cloney, James Kehoe. OYLEGATE-John Bolger, John Cullin, James Crowley. OULART-Laurence Lacy, James Crowe, William Doran. TAGOAT AND KILRANE.-Michael Doyle, Nicholas Murphy, James Browne. Monamolin—Thomas Mulligan, Arthur Gahan, Valentine Crowe. Gorey-James Redmond, Patrick Kinsella, James Dunne. CROSSADEG-John Lambert, John Baggan.

WICKLOW.

BRAY TOWN COMMISSIONERS-Philip Condron.

WICKLOW HARBOUR BOARD—John V. Gahan.
BOANDS OF GUARDIANS: RATHDRUM—Michael Byrne. BALTINGLASS—

E. P. O'Kelly, J.P., chairman; William M'Loughlin.

BRANCHES I.N.F.: BALTINGLASS-Rev. T. O'Neill, P.P.; Thomas B. Doyle, J.P.; Nicholas O'Brien, Matthers Byrne, Anthony O'Dwyer. KILLAVENEY AND ANNACURA—J. O'Toole, J. Doyle, P. Doyle, Richard Kavanagh. Dunlavin—James Kealy, John Burke, James Lawler.

Bray Parish-James Coffey, Mathew O'Byrne.

Stewards.

The following gentlemen kindly acted as stewards:-

CHIEF STEWARDS-

John Denver
D. Boyle
Owen Kiernan

J. O'Connell
M. Sheehan

UNDER MR. BOYLE-

F. J. Farley
J. Shortell
J. Reilly
G. Holt
T. Casey
J. Reilly
J. Walsh

UNDER MR. O'CONNELL-

Michael O'Rourke, London, N.
Patrick Lyons, ,,
Maurice Ahern, ,,

Michael O'Rourke, London, N.

John Ball, London, North
R. Geraghty, ,,
J. Herlihy, ,,

UNDER MR. SHEEHAN-

John Glass, Glasgow
John Craven, Coatbridge
J. Kennedy, Blantyre
John Hughes, Coatbridge
J. Cassidy, Hamilton, N.B.

UNDER MR. KIERNAN-

Stephen M'Farlane Michael O'Donnell, Leeds Irish
William Reilly National Club
Terence O'Neill John Macgee, West Hartlepool
Francis Jones



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The Frish Mational League of Great Britain.

Annual Convention.

To-day, Friday, September 4th, 1896, the annual Convention of the Irish National League of Great Britain, which was to have been held in Manchester, at Whitsuntide, but which was postponed until after the Irish Race Convention, took place in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, commencing at ten o'clock. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P. (president), occupied the chair, and there were over two hundred delegates present whose names have been already published in connection with the Race Convention. The proceedings were throughout of a most harmonious character, and were got through without any unnecessary waste of time. The members of Parliament present were: Messrs. John Dillon, M.P.; Hon. E. Blake, M.P.; Wm. Abraham, M.P.; Wm. O'Malley, M.P.; J. G. Swifte MacNeill, M.P.; Dr. Tanner, M.P.; T. J. Condon, M.P.; Dr. Ambrose, M.P.; J. Mandeville, M.P.; J. C. Flynn, M.P.; Mr. Austin, M.P.; J. F. X. O'Brien, M.P., General Secretary. Among the visitors were: Very Rev. Father M'Fadden, P.P., Gweedore; Rev. M. Marshall, Pennsylvania; Mr. William O'Brien.

The President, in opening the proceedings, said: I do not intend to address you at any length, and even if I did, I would be precluded from doing so by the state of my voice. And I dare say I faithfully represent your feelings by saying that after the three days' close attention which you gave to the great Convention which has closed you are not disposed to unnecessarily prolong our proceedings. I mus: heartily congratulate the organisation for having been able to send to the great Convention so strong and so representative a body of men from the Irish people in Great Britain. You are aware, of course, that a strong opposition was given to the Irish cause in Great Britain having any representation whatever in the National Convention. But I think there is not much necessity of my

doing anything to asseverate the claims of the Irishmen of Great Britain to take a full share in any national decision dealing with the fate of Ireland. I might be regarded as desirous of opening old controversies, or of going unnecessarily into contentious matter, if I dwelt upon that topic any further. I will dismiss it now, not because I don't feel strongly on it, and you don't feel strongly on it, but because we think the people of Ireland have sufficiently educated their judg ment of the question. Now, gentlemen, as you are aware the report does not give what may be called a particularly cheerful view of the year that is just over; it frankly acknowledges that the same paralysis which has affected the Irish movement in other parts of the world has affected the movement in Great Britain, and it also frankly states what is the real source and cause of this paralysis, and that source and that cause are the dissensions among the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Well, as to the dissensions, everybody knows what the opinion of the Irishmen of Great Britain is. In this crisis, as in every other crisis, when that question has been raised, the Irishmen of Great Britain have practically stood together as one man with one voice. Gentlemen, I may say that if there was the same union of opinion and of sentiment among the Irishmen in other parts of the world, and especially at home, as there is among the Irishmen of Great Britain, the question of dissension would not last for six weeks. Well now, ladies and gentlemen, I don't think it would be right of me to pass over this occasion without taking notice of a statement and a charge so frequently made not only against me personally, which is a small matter, but against this organisation. This organisation is constantly referred to -not, I may say, in journals, remarkable for defending the principles of party unity-this organisation is referred to as "Mr. T. P O'Connor's organisation." Well, gentlemen, that would be a very flattering thing to say of me personally, if it were truebut what I want to call your attention to is that the statement is not only absolutely unfounded in the suggestion it makes, but that it is a very gross calumny, a very unworthy slur upon this organisation itself. Here is the statement of the real facts. I am a busy man; I don't write more letters than I possibly can help. And now I want to make this statement publicly. I want any man in this Convention to produce from me and under my hand a single letter I have written to him in reference to the affairs of the organisation for the last five or six years. is a picture drawn of me (I am not alluding to this because of my personal ideas), but there is a picture drawn of me as a ceaseless wirepuller who spends nights and days in sending communications to all parts of the country, and in carrying on a correspondence

multitudinous in its size and Machiavellian in its dishonesty. I sometimes don't write as many letters as I should.

Mr. J. F. X. O'BRIEN: Hear, hear.

The President: You will observe the secretary of the organisation applauds that in tones which I think have a good deal of personal feeling, not to say strong emotion, behind them. But here I make the statement publicly, that I don't believe for the last five years I have written a single letter to any member of our organisation with regard to the affairs of the organisation, and I have not done so for the very good reason that the judgment of the members of this body doesn't require any guidance from me, and they would not submit to anything like dictation from me. So much for this statement, which I feel it necessary to controvert, not for your sake, because you know it is false, but for the sake of the large number of persons who may be deceived by the frequency with which the calumny is repeated. As I have said, we are all united in this organisation; there is not a dissentient voice on the agenda paper. I don't believe there will be a dissentient voice to-day against putting down dissension and re-establishing unity. And what we can do is this, to go back to our people of Great Britain and tell them of the magnificent Convention held here during the last three days, and say that our people came to the decision in that great representative body to give the National organisation their moral and material support. With these words, I beg to move the adoption of the report and statement of accounts.

The following is the report: "The Executive herewith submit to the Convention, as usual, a statement of the accounts of the organisation. The receipts from branches since the last Convention are as follows: Cards, £1,094 4s.; registration, £520 10s.; meetings, £240 138. 3d.; Parliamentary Fund, £83 148. 6d.; General Election Fund, £284 38. 5d.; evicted tenants, £18 5s. 6d.; sundries, £5 2s. 2d.; total, £2,246 12s. 11d. The figures, it is unnecessary to say, reflect the depression-caused by dissension and insubordination in the ranks of the Irish Parliamentary Party-from which the Irish cause has suffered in Great Britain, as well as in Ireland, America, Australia, and all over the world; to encounter and remedy this gigantic evil the Irish Race Convention-to include representative men of our race from every country in which our people are to be found-has been summoned. The members of the organisation are aware that the place and the date of our Convention have been altered, for it was their own decision, in response to an appeal from the Executive, which produced this alteration. The assembling of a great Convention of the Irish Race on Irish soil, and specially for the sacred object of restoring the unity of the National ranks, naturally suggested the idea that

the men of the Irish race in Great Britain, whose fidelity to the Irish cause has been so often proved, should have an opportunity of participating in so historic a gathering, and should, by meeting at the same time and place, throw the whole influence of their powerful and united organisation in favour of the restoration of unity. The organisation would be untrue to all its traditions if it did not emphatically and unanimously declare for unity, and for all means by which that unity can be restored and also maintained. In its own ranks, the organisation has experienced much the same disastrous result from that dissension in the Parliamentary Party, which has made the Irish cause a weakness and a by-word throughout the world. Depression and lethargy have taken the place of hopefulness and energy. It will be for us, therefore, in sheer self-preservation, to insist on the ending of the present disastrous state of things; to see that a policy is put before the people, so truly national, broad and generous, as to make it acceptable to every true Nationalist, and that the policy so formulated with the sanction of a nation's gathering shall find itself advocated in Ireland, and throughout the world, by a united and a disciplined party.

Mr. MICHAEL LYDON (North Shields) seconded the motion.

Mr. W. Sullivan (Bradford) asked how it was that after the action they had taken in Great Britain they still found the name of Mr. Healy on the executive.

The President: It is not on the executive. A meeting of the executive was held in November of last year, in which, obeying the strongly expressed opinion of the organisation, the executive removed Mr. Healy's name from the membership.

Mr. Murphy (Liverpool) said his branch was dissatisfied with the

work of the secretary's department.

Mr. W. Sullivan said it was the general feeling in Bradford that they could not possibly receive more courtesy or more attention from

any secretary than they got from Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien.

Hon. Mr. Blake: I wish to say that, having had occasion, not unfrequently, in the discharge of my public duty, to visit the offices of the Irish National League of Great Britain, I found the secretary and assistant-secretary in constant attendance, and in the diligent discharge of their duty and I don't believe you can get more faithful or more conscientious public servants than those you are fortunate enought to possess.

Mr. W. FINN (South Islington) and Mr. J. C. DALTON (Warring-

ton) also spoke in praise of the General Secretary.

Mr. TAGGART (Liverpool) deprecated the idea that Mr. Murphy had made any attack on Mr. O'Brien. Not only he, but every member of the branch had confidence in Mr. O'Brien.

Dr. O'MARA (Southampton) said he had a very short memory, for Mr. Murphy had distinctly said that the branch he represented was dissatisfied with the work of the secretary. In Southampton they

had always found Mr. O'Brien a most courteous secretary.

Mr. MURPHY wished to say he did not make any attack personally on Mr. O'Brien, but they in Liverpool had some cause of complaint as to the want of attention given to their affairs by the Executive. Their representative could get no information from Mr. O'Brien as to where Captain Donelan could be got for a registration meeting in Liverpool, and then Captain Donelan appeared in Liverpool unexpectedly.

Mr. J. F. X. O'BRIEN, M.P.: I have a very simple reply to give. I saw Mr. Thomas Burke and told him if he wished to communicate with Captain Donelan he could write to him to the House of

Commons or to me or to his address at Midleton.

The President thought it was very generous on his part to bear testimony to Mr. O'Brien's zeal—because he was so energetic that he made his (the president's) life a burden to him. Mr. O'Brien paid not too little but too much attention to every detail of the organisation.

The report was adopted.

Mr. Matthew M'Kenna (Dundee) moved: "That this Convention regrets that in the past the Executive of the Irish National League of Great Britain has been composed exclusively of members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and resolves that in future the Executive of this organisation be constituted as follows, viz: One-half of members of the organisation who are not members of Parliament, and one-half of members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and that as heretofore the election of the Executive take place at each Convention by the delegates, and that the members of the Executive be elected individually and not collectively."

Mr. Cosgrave (Live.pool) seconded the motion in order that dis-

cussion might be in order.

Mr. Edward Scully, J.P. (Gortin) opposed the motion. He did not think it would be practical to have half the members of the Executive drawn from the country. It would be very inconvenient if they had to send gentlemen from Manchester or Birmingham or Liverpool from time to time to meet in London. Further than that, unless they are men of means, it would be an additional tax on the resources of the branches. They had implicit confidence in the members of Parliament, at least in some of them on the Executive, for he believed there were one or two names that some people thought should be removed and replaced by others in whom they had confidence.

Mr. Hugh Murphy (Glasgow) said he had listened with amusement to the resolution. He recollected that when the Irish Party



LOWER LOUGH ERNE, CO. FERMANAGH.

was under the leadership of Mr. Parnell, he (Mr. Murphy) had introduced a similar resolution, but the delegates then assembled would not listen to him, so much confidence had they in the Party. He warned them at the time that the day might come when they would not have so much faith, and when the crisis arose in 1890 the Irishmen of Great Britain were found true to the cause, while 40 per cent. of the Irish Party who were members of the Executive Committee went wrong. They at that time purged the Executive, and would again purge it, but while he was as much in favour of a democratic Convention as any other member, he was more in favour of Irish unity, and he would earnestly appeal to his friend, Mr. MrKenna to withdraw his resolution for the present, in order to show that they were more desirous of unity than of anything else.

Mr. D. J. Quinn, of Glasgow, spoke in favour of the resolution.

Mr. Kelly, of Bromley, disagreed with Mr. Murphy in thinking
that debate at that annual gathering should be curtailed in face of
hostile criticism. The debate should be as free as in former years.

At the same time he also disagreed with the motion before the
meeting. He thought it was better to leave well enough alone.

Mr. Sullivan, of Bradford, said he rose to support the plea of Mr. Murphy for the withdrawal of the resolution. If they elected district members how could they act in case of emergency, unless they were attending regularly in London. It was necessary that they should be acquainted with the working of the Convention, and know what led up to the emergencies. Up to the present they had been united in Great Britain under an executive composed of members of Parliament, and he exhorted them to do nothing to mar the effect of the great Convention which had just closed; to keep united and strong, and show the firmness of their confidence in the men put upon the Executive Committee.

Mr. M'Kenna then withdrew his motion, and was loudly applauded.
Mr. M'Corry proposed: "Branches shall be entitled to retain in
the hands of the branch treasurer 25 per cent. of the income derivable
from the membership subscription, said retained sum to be applied
in liquidation of the working expenses of the branches; any balance
remaining thereof shall be remitted to the Executive at the end of
each financial year."

Mr. Coyle seconded the resolution, which was rejected.

Mr. Walsh proposed, and Mr. Leyden seconded, the following: "That 'two months' be inserted instead of 'three weeks' before Convention meets."

The resolution was lost.

Mr. D. J. QUINN (Glasgow) proposed: "That country branches be visited by one of the Irish Party at least once a year."

Mr. FINN (Liverpool) seconded.

Mr. Dalton (Warrington) opposed the resolution, stating his belief that it should be left to the discretion of the Party to send members when practicable to visit the country districts.

Mr. DUNWORTH (Edinburgh) questioned whether the organisation would be fit to bear the expense of sending members of Parliament

every year to all branches.

Mr. Shortlett, of Liverpool, complained that their branches had been neglected in this respect. On the strength of promises from the Executive, they had gone to the expense of organising demonstrations in Liverpool, and had then been disappointed. For that reason he supported the resolution.

Mr. COYLE (Liverpool) also spoke in support.

Mr. HAUGHEY said he thought it was the duty of the Convention to reject the motion.

Dr. O'MARA (Southampton) moved as an amendment, to add, "That in such case the branch visited be prepared to pay the expenses."

Mr. J. F. X. O'BRIEN said the reason Liverpool was not sent a member on the occasion referred to by Mr. Shortlett was that they did not apply in sufficient time, all the members having been engaged at the time they made their application.

After some further discussion, the motion was by leave withdrawn. The CHAIRMAN then announced that the Rev. Father McFadden had expressed a desire to address the meeting, and asked the Convention if it was their wish to suspend the ordinary business to hear him.

The delegates by acclamation unanimously welcomed the suggestion. Father McFadden, who was warmly received, regretted exceedingly that other engagements made it necessary for him to interrupt the proceedings. He had not been desirous of addressing the meeting, but he did so in deference to a strongly expressed wish. It was somewhat of an unusual occurrence for the representatives of the National League of Great Britain to assemble in Dublin, and he was pleased that he, as an Irish priest, was privileged to extend to them all a Cead mile failte, and to take that occasion to express his gratitude to the organisation for the services received at their hands when times were dark and troublous in the parish from which he came, and for the great kindness and warmth with which they received him on the occasion, when he had a rather pleasing holiday in England after a retirement of six months elsewhere. Those kindnesses on their part he did not forget, and he thought there was a fitness in the parish priest of Gweedore having been privileged to wish God's blessing on the opening of their proceedings.

Mr. M. Howley (Keighley No. 7 Branch) moved: "That this Convention records its emphatic protest against the further detention

of the Irish political prisoners, believing that they have already more than expiated the offence of which they have been found guilty, and calls upon the Government to exercise the elemency, statesmanship, and magnanimity recently displayed by President Kruger when dealing with the political offences committed by Englishmen against the independence of the Transvaal Republic, by forthwith releasing these unfortunate Irishmen. Furthermore the Convention is of opinion that such an act of elemency, consistency, and justice on the part of the Government, could only tend in the direction of permanent peace and goodwill between the Irish and the English nations."

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

The Rev. Father MURNANE, of the O'Gorman Mahon Branch, Bermondsey, proposed: "That this Convention unanimously desires the return of Messrs. Sexton and W. O'Brien to Parliamentary life, where their eloquence and help are so much missed." He said that if Mr. Sexton and Mr. O'Brien would return to public life, and give the Irish cause the benefit of their help, it would indeed be a wonderful public manifestation of the good that had been achieved by the great Convention of the Irish Race. He (Father Murnane) had been all through a most faithful and a most loyal follower of the Irish Parliamentary Party. But the spirit in which he had come to this Convention was that they all, no matter to what party they belonged, wanted to get Lack all the soldiers of the Irish Party into the ranks. They felt that Ireland had need of the help of every man, and after the expression, the glorious expression of opinion on the part of Mr. John Dillon, he felt that those who had supported Mr. Dillon should put it as strongly as possible to Mr. Sexton to return, because they felt how great was the need of the help of his matchless eloquence, his Parliamentary skill, and his marvellous grasp of finance. They knew how much work was to be done in England. They knew how Willie O'Brien in the past had carried the fiery cross, and they felt they ought not to close their Convention without there going forth a most earnest and most unanimous -he did not like to say demand, though Ireland had a right to demand -a unanimous demand that their friends should come back to carry on the fight in which they had borne such a gallant and noble part. Dr. TANNER, M.F., supported the motion, and said that they

would try and compel Tom Sexton and Willie O'Brien to come back.

The PRESIDENT said he might say that their accord was so hearty
and so absolutely complete on this question that there was no necessity
for further discussion upon it. With their consent he would declare

it carried by acclamation.

Mr. Jos. Byrne (Bolton), moved a resolution thanking Mr. John Dillon for his services to Ireland, and calling on Mr. Sexton to return to the public service.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

Mr. VALENTINE (Bristol) moved a resolution endorsing the decision of the Irish Race Convention in favour of putting down dissension, and pledging that gathering to recommend to the branches to back up the Irish Party in carrying out the mandate of the Convention. As an Anglo-Irishman, he said he was ashamed of the vulgar and coarse abuse of some of the Dublin newspapers during the last few days, and that abuse should recoil on the heads of the men of the party that inspired it.

The motion was agreed to.

On the motion of Mr. Walsh (Kensington Sarsfield Branch), seconded by Mr. W. COYLE, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., was re-

elected president.

Mr. Walsh (Kensington), in proposing Mr. P. A. M'Hugh, M.P., as vice-president, said that for the past four or five years he had the pleasure of proposing another man, but circumstances altered cases, and he felt it would not be in accordance with his duty to recommend that name to them at the present time as vice-president, while Mr. P. A. M'Hugh, Mayor of Sligo, was a man in whom they all had confidence.

Mr. Murphy (Liverpool) said he wished to move that Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., be retained as vice-president. During the past few days they were calling for unity in their ranks, and was there any likelihood of that harmony when they excluded such a veteran as T. D. Sullivan from the organisation?

A VOICE: Why is he not here?

Another VOICE: Why was he not here during the past few days? He is in Dublin.

Mr. Murphy said they should show gratitude to Mr. Sullivan for previous services.

A VOICE: Why isn't he here?

Mr. Murphy: Seeing there is no chance of a fair hearing—
The President: Oh, nonsense. I must call on you to withdraw.
Mr. Murphy: I withdraw it unreservedly.

At this stage Mr. Wm. O'Brien entered the hall and was received with loud cheers.

Mr. Murphy said he did not think interruptions served the harmony of the proceedings.

The Rev. Father MURNANE, Bermondsey, said he would earnestly appeal to the Convention, as they had called on Mr. Sexton and Mr. William O'Brien to return to the public service, they should in the same way, in a spirit of peace and union, open the doors to all, and he hoped, therefore, that they would show Mr. T. D. Sullivan that the door was open.

Mr. Hugh Murphy said if Mr. T. D. Sullivan had come to the Irish Race Convention and intimated that he was willing to abide by its principles, he would have proposed him for re-election, but he had not done so.

Mr. FLYNN said they would be stultifying the proceedings of the Convention to out men like Mr. T. D. Sullivan in the position of vice-

president, no matter what his services were in the past.

Mr. E. ROURKE (Dewsbury) said he wanted to raise his voice in support of the motion that Mr. Sullivan's name be erased from the executive. Very recently they purged their executive of the most odious name on it, Mr. T. M. Healy. Let them clear out all these rebellious men. Their reverend friends said they should hold the door open. This place had been open all the week—why did these men not come here? He said, out with the whole lot of them—T. D. Sullivan, Vesey Knox, and every one of them.

Mr. John Ferguson (Glasgow) wished to say not one word calculated to create feelings of animosity towards an old friend and a name historic in Ireland, but he desired to impress on their minds a reason why Mr. P. A. M'Hugh ought to be elected in his place on this occasion. When Mr. M'Hugh was challenged in the House of Commons for some action of his as Mayor of Sligo he got up and said, "I am Mayor of Sligo by the will of my fellow-citizens. I am responsible to them, and to them alone, for my acts and my opinions, and not responsible to this or any other foreign or alien assembly."

Mr. HOWLEY (Keighley) said they were not leaving T. D. Sullivan, but T. D. Sullivan was leaving them. If they elected T. D. Sullivan now they would be guilty of the mistake which the Irish Party made when they elected Charles Stewart Parnell as their leader after the

divorce affair.

Mr. Keenaghan (Ramsbottom) said in 1885 the Irish voted Tory; they did that to place the Liberals on the stool of repentance, where they might do penance for their crimes. They asked these gentlemen to do penance also, and when they had done that they would be given absolution and admitted to the fold again.

Mr. M'HALE (Wrexham) supported Mr. M'Hugh's election.

Mr. CALEY (Bradford) said they were but a small army fighting for liberty, but they could not afford to admit doubtful members within the ranks and councils of the Party. He looked upon a man like Mr. Healy to-day—although perhaps he was, according to his own thinking, an Irish Nationalist, but an Irish Nationalist who would make national interests subservient to his own—as a man no longer to be admitted within the ranks of any party that wished to advance his country's cause. A new alliance had now been formed. He saw

by that morning's papers that the esteemed friend of Ireland, Mr. Chamberlain, had taken Mr. Healy under his protection. He thought it was the duty of this Convention to rid itself of all doubtful elements, and to close their doors to traitors.

A DELEGATE asked how many meetings of the Executive had been held since the last Convention, and how many attendances Mr. T. D. Sullivan had given.

The President: There were eleven meetings of the Executive, and Mr. Sullivan attended two.

The question was then put to the Convention. There were eight votes for Mr. Sullivan, and the rest of the Convention voted for Mr. M'Hugh.

Mr. M'Hugh, amid loud cheers, was elected vice-president.

On the motion of Mr. Walsh (Kensington), seconded by Mr. Finn (Islington), Mr. T. J. Farrell, M.P., was elected to the vacant treasurership.

Mr. Walsh (Kensington) moved the election of Mr. J. C. Flynn, M.P., as hon. secretary in place of Mr. Daniel Crilly, M.P., who had only attended one meeting of the executive.

Mr. Geraghty (Metropolitan Branch, London) seconded the motion.

The President, in reply to a question, said that Mr. Flynn had attended five meetings out of the eleven of the executive.

Mr. LYDON (North Shields) proposed that Mr. Daniel Crilly be elected hon. secretary. He had seen Mr. Crilly in attendance at the Irish Race Convention.

The President, in reply to a question, said that Mr. Crilly had attended one meeting of the executive out of eleven.

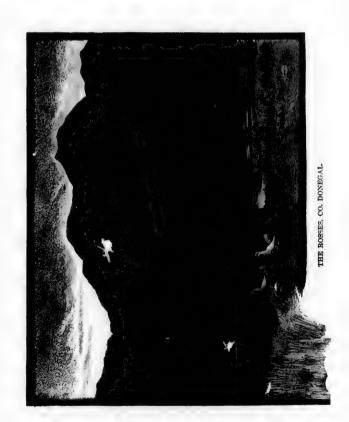
Mr. LYDON said it appeared that Mr. Crilly had neglected his duty, and he would not persist in his motion.

Mr. Flynn was unanimously elected hon, secretary.

On the motion of Mr. Walsh, the following were elected as the other members of the Executive Committee: W. Abraham, Hon. E. Blake, M. Davitt, J. Dillon, Sir T. Esmonde, J. McCarthy, Captain Donelan, D. Kilbride, J. G. S. M'Neill, J. F. X. O'Brien, W. O'Malley, Dr. Tanner, Dr. M'Donnell, Dr. Robert Ambrose.

It was decided that the next Convention should be held in Manchester on the Saturday preceding Whit Sunday.

Mr. DILLON, in response to an invitation from the Chairman, addressed the Convention, and was enthusiastically received. In the course of his speech he said: When one recalls the events of the last four years, it is a splendid testimony to the intensity of the feeling of the Irish Nationalists of England, that through the clouds and storm that have obscured the whole scene of Irish politics they have still battled on while others despaired. They have never des-



paired, but have fought on true lines, and, thank God, their organisation has survived to see what was to a large extent the result of their labours and fidelity in the great Convention of the last few days. The organisation in England exists for one purpose alone, and that is to assist the movement in Ireland, and if in Ireland the leaders of the people give forth a divided note-if looking across the Channel, you see nothing but confusion and discord in Ireland, how can your organisation flourish? Your organisation must inevitably go up or down, flourish or decay in sympathy with Irish politics. When Ireland is united and strong then will your organisation increase in power and wealth and revenue. When Ireland is divided and weak, then it is in the nature of things that your organisation will fall away and your funds decrease. It is no wonder that the organisation should be somewhat depressed in consequence of the things that have been done in Ireland. But what does strike me as singular and unaccountable is that the men who are accountable for this condition of things have made the result of their dissensions a matter of public boast, and are continually bragging that the National organisation in Great Britain and the National orginisaton in Ireland have been decaying and falling away. I say to you that I propose to act—and the majority of my colleagues I know are of the same view-I propose to act in the spirit of the great resolution of the great Convention of the last For any man who will come into the ranks of the Irish Party, and who will work loyally in that Party, the past will be obliterated-absolutely obliterated. I have no intention of raking up past controversies here or elsewhere, but I myself have never sought, as my colleagues well know, the position of difficulty and responsibility in which I am now placed; but this I can promise you, that so long as I am retained in that place by the vote of the majority there will not be allowed to remain in the Irish Party a man who will not observe the Irish Party policy. (Great cheering, the delegates rising to their feet, waving their hats and cheering vehemently.) I may be right, or I may be wrong. This at least I can promise you, delegates of the National League of Great Britain, that so long as I am retained in that chair I will put a clear issue before you. I will show you a party in Ireland, who would, like the Parnellite party of old, be they few or be they large-and I would far rather work with a party of fifty who would work loyally together than work with a party of seventy-one who were cutting each other's throats-I will show you a party in Ireland within whose ranks the true old doctrines of party unity and party discipline are properly maintained; and when the hour comes, as come it will, to appeal to the people of this country, and to our countrymen scattered over the earth, they will know what the issue is on which

we appeal. If it should so turn out-and God forbid that it shouldfor I still trust and hope that the further steps that we will take will result in union by general consent, and my offer still stands, that I will retire and resign if the whole party will unite under another man, but if that should prove to be impossible, at least I will promise you that from this forth you will see on one side of the line a party within whose ranks the principles of party discipline are strictly and absolutely observed, and on the other side of the line all those gentlemen, be they who they may, who are oppressed with an overwhelming sense of their own capacities, so overwhelming that they cannot find it possible to run in harness, but must be for ever kicking over the traces. I lay no claim to pre-eminent abilities. All that I do claim-and I believe my countrymen give me credit for it-is that so long as you retain me in that chair I will honestly endeavour to do my best for my country, and furthermore I say, and I think that this also has some claim to your support, that while I exercise patience and forbearance, as far as the interests and the safety of the party would justify their exercise -and I have resisted pressure, and strong pressure, from my colleagues to adopt stringent and extreme measures-I will allow no man, so long as I am in that chair, to flout its authority, or to trample upon those necessary rules on which the union of the party is based; and if any man persists, no matter how great his abilities may be, in conduct of that character, I will request him to withdraw from the Party, and honestly take up the position which he ought to take up, and that is a critic, outside the Party and not within its ranks.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, who was called upon imperatively to make a speech, next came forward, and was received with enthusiastic cheering. He said he had no right except their kindness to address any observation to the Convention, and he did think it a great privilege, indeed, that they had asked him to say a few words, because all men who knew anything of the secret history of this movement for the last few years believed it was in a large degree-perhaps he should say in the main degree-the marvellous unity, fidelity, and good sense of the League of Great Britain that had saved the very life of this movement and brought about the great National uprising commenced within the last few days. Their one burning question was to see their cause of Irish freedom advancing, no matter who might be the leader, and no matter what might be the means, so long as they were honourable. He must say that, deep as was their own feeling of pain about Irish dissension, he often pitied even more Irishmen in other countries who were united themselves and who came over here to find them disunited, and who recognised that without something

like a united country nothing was possible, except defeat and disgrace. The worst of it was that no man could point to any substantial difference whatsoever that should keep Irishmen disunited. were all agreed as to what Irish self-government meant, and they were all agreed that it could only be won by Parnell's lines of independent opposition. They all knew that instead of there being anything to despair of in the present position of the Irish cause, and given only the proper degree of unity, nothing was more certain than that their own party would soon again be acknowledged by another British Parliament whether Liberal or Tory. The Convention of the Irish Race had recognised and made up their minds who were the defenders of the Irish Party and who were its destroyers. They had made up their minds to stand by the Irish Party. Let him say, because people sometimes took a rather exaggerated view of Irish dissension, that it was chiefly, almost entirely, among a couple of thousand people, and did not extend to the masses of the Irish Race. He would say solemnly that he believed that this country was at the present moment as united in support of the majority of the Irish Party as any country in the world was united upon any point. Taking first Mr. Redmond's party, it was a fact that with the one exception of South Roscommon there was not a constituency in the whole of Ireland outside the city of Dublin that any supporters of Mr. Redmond's could carry without the aid of the Tory vote. And even in the city of Dublin, thank God, there were a good many indications that a change, a mighty change was beginning. He was privileged to assist at the deliberations of the Irish Race Convention, wholly and solely as the representative of a Dublin Branch which was one of the most faithful in the country. As to their troubles with the Parnellite Party-he spoke now with reference to the electors -he believed it was only a mere question of time and patience. The only genuine thing that bound them to a separate existence was their respect, their honest respect, and veneration of the memory of Mr. Parnell. Well, as time went on, these men would, he thought come to reflect that they (the Nationalist Party) had never yet said one personally unpleasant thing of Mr. Parnell, living or dead. They had believed—conscientiously believed—that the retirement of Mr. Parnell was the only possible alternative to the certain destruction of the Irish cause. They believed that still more firmly than ever, but they never concealed from themselves that in parting with such a leader many a year of trouble was before them. He reminded them that at that time Mr. Redmond laboured just as hard as they did to bring about that retirement in favour of the very man who was leader of the Irish Party to-day. Since Mr. Parnell's death there had never been a moment when they were not

only too willing to shake hands with their Parnellite fellow countrymen, and he believed in his heart that to-day there were Parnellites throughout the country who were just as eager as they were to come together again. Proceeding, Mr. O'Brien said—As to Mr. Healy, he would not be able to get a single representative elected to support him in Munster, Connaught, or Ulster. Unfortunately there were honest Nationalists supporting him in Leinster, but South Louth showed what was the opinion even of Leinster. The Convention had recognised that the Irish Party were true to Ireland, in the face of calumnies and difficulties, and the Party were now armed with authority, and it would deserve to go down to history with contempt if they allowed the country to be disturbed much longer by the protege of Mr. Chamberlain and the London Times.

The Convention closed with the singing of "God Save Ireland," which is pretty generally regarded as the National Anthem. It is herewith subjoined:

"GOD SAVE IRELAND!"

[This song was written in reference to the execution at Manchester of three Irishmen named William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin, and Michael O'Brien, or the 23rd of November, 1867; and it was first published in *The Nation* a fortnight after that date. The people of Ireland "took it up" immediately, and it has become a popular anthem with Irishmen in all parts of the world.]

Air-" Tramp, tramp, the boys are marching."

High upon the gallows tree
Swung the noble-hearted Three,
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
But they met him face to face,
With the courage of their race,
And they went with souls undaunted to their doom,
"God save Ireland!" said they all;
"God save Ireland!" said they all;

"God save Ireland!" said they a

"Or the battle-field we die, "Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Girt around with cruel foes,
Still their spirit proudly rose,
For they thought of hearts that loved them, far and near;
Of the millions true and brave
O'er the ocean's swelling wave,
And the friends in holy Ireland ever dear.

"God save Ireland!" said they proudly;
"God save Ireland!" said they all:

"Whether on the scaffold high "Or the battle-field we die,

"O, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN. 371

Climbed they up the rugged stair,
Rung their voices out in prayer,
Then with England's fatal cord around them cast,
Close beneath the gallows tree,
Kissed like brothers lovingly,
True to home and faith and freedom to the last.

"God save Ireland!" prayed they loudly;
"God save Ireland!" said they all:
"Whether on the scaffold high
"Gr the battle-field we die,
"Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Never till the latest day
Shall the memory pass away
Of the gallant lives thus given for our land;
But on the cause must go,
Amidst joy, or weat, or woe,
Till we've made our isle a nation free and grand.

"God save Ireland!" say we proudly;

"God save Ireland!" say we proudly;

"Whether on the scaffold high

"Or the battle-field we die,
"Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

T. D. SULLIVAN.





From photo by]

UPPER LAKE, KILLARNEY.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin.

Mr. Justin M'Cartby on the Convention.

(From the Daily News.)

Perhaps it may be considered by some people that I am not an absolutely impartial or unprejudiced critic when I declare my opinion that the National Convention, which began in Dublin on Tuesday and closed on Thursday, was a complete and splendid success. But I have seen a good many political conventions and political movements in my time, and I think I have acquired observation enough and common sense enough not to confound my own personal wishes with the positive facts and the actual results. The Convention realised all my best desires and dearest hopes as an Irish Nationalist. The Convention was fortunate in its President. The Bishop of Raphoe is a very young-looking man for a prelate, and has a clearly-cut statuesque face, which must have won upon every spectator. The Bishop of Raphoe has a fine voice, and is richly endowed with power of argument and with thrilling eloquence.

Let me say, that throughout the whole of the three days' proceedings there was hardly any display of that kind of Irish oratory which Mr. Davitt once described as "sunburstery." The meeting did not want sunburstery; it wanted reason and argument. It might have been an English meeting, or a Scottish meeting, so far as quiet, practical intelligence, and a desire to get at substantial results, could constitute its

principal characteristics.

Was it a representative assembly? Well, I can only say that the vast majority of those who attended it were regularly elected delegates, openly appointed by the various local branches of the Irish National Federations over all parts of the world. There were delegates from the cities of the United States, from Canada, from the Australasian Colonies, from South America, from South Africa, from England, from Scotland, and from Ireland. The great Leinster Hall was literally crowded with delegates. It was a somewhat curious fact that on the same platform sat Mr. John Costigan, long Conservative Minister of the Dominion of Canada, and Mr. Edward Blake, for many years the leader of the Liberal Party in the Dominion Parliament-both alike, devoted to the cause of Home Rule in Ireland. As somebody asked, how could an American, or a Canadian, or an Australasian, fail to be a believer in Home Rule? Is it not certain that one of the most distinguished Irishmen living, Lord Rosmead, lately known as Sir Hercules Robinson, became from an extreme opponent of Home Rule a convert to Home Rule because of his colonial experiences?

The object of the Convention was, as most people know, to bring about, if possible, a re-uniting of ranks among the Irish Nationalists. on

the principle that in a political party the majority must rule. I remember well-I am not likely ever to forget-how things went at the time when Mr. Parnell was in the zenith of his power. Before any decision on some important question in Parliament was taken the Irish Party met in one of the Committee Rooms. The whole subject was debated and discussed; everybody was free to express his opinion. Some of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants occasionally differed from the opinion of their leader. In the end a division was taken, and the will of the majority became the rule of the Party. Often and often it happened that the decision was only arrived at just in time to enable the members of the Irish Parliamentary Party to go into the division lobby and give practical expression there to the will of the majority. Of course, it is perfectly obvious that under no other conditions could a small party of men do any substantial and practical service to their cause in the House of Commons. The main object of the Convention then was to bring back that recognition of the right of the majority to dictate, which was recognised so absolutely through the greater part of Mr. Parnell's

career.

I have heard people argue that unless you have Mr. Parnell's power you cannot enforce Mr. Parnell's policy. But surely the very fact that we have lost Mr. Parnell is only another reason why we should resolutely set ourselves to maintain his policy. It is pure fantasy to suppose that Mr. Parnell was a mere dictator and despot in his party. I have known him more than once to refuse to express any opinion of his own on some pressing question, simply because, as he put it, he was anxious to get the unbiassed judgment of the majority, and was, therefore, unwilling to influence it by any argument of his own. Anyhow, the main object of the Convention this week was to re-affirm, and, if possible, re-establish the right of the majority to declare the policy of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Of course, an Irish Nationalist Member of Parliament is not compelled to act against the judgment of his own conscience. The pledge he has taken secures him his freedom of action in any extreme case where his conscience will not allow him to act with the majority of his colleagues. In such a case he can resign his seat. There is no eternal necessity for his remaining a Member of Parliament. Let me say, however, that in my opinion the occasions must be rare indeed when such a conflict could arise. We are all pledged to Home Rule-if we were not so pledged our constituencies would never have elected us to the House of Commons. The questions which arise are questions as to whether this course of policy or that is the more likely to advance the cause of Home Rule. It is a question of policy altogether, and not of principle-a question of what we are to do—which way we are to vote—now, this moment, or at all events when the division bell rings, and what solution can the wit of man devise better than, or, indeed, other than, the rule that the judgment of the majority shall decide? Mr. Parnell never believed himself to be an infallible dictator ruling by sheer force of inspired wisdom an obedient band of followers. He would not have been the really great leader that he was if he had any such nonsense in his mind. I have known him again and again to admit that he was mistaken upon this point or that. But we all recognised the fact that he was magnificently endowed with the insinct and the genius of the commander-inchief, and that where a decision had to be taken at a moment's notice he was the one man whose judgment was best qualified to lead him and

us to the right action.

Assume the fact that we have not now a captain with the genius of Mr. Parnell. That is assuredly no reason for breaking up the camp. But if we are to hold the camp, we must keep up the discipline, which alone can keep the camp together. This was really in substance the principle which the decisions of the Convention endeavoured to enforce. We have yet to see how far the effort will be successful. For myself, I anticipate with confidence the best results from the meetings of these three days. The Convention was practically unanimous. In one instance an amendment was proposed which called on the Irish Nationalist members to return to the policy of unconditional obstruction. The amendment did not find one single supporter. The common sense of the Convention saw at once that if the country has elected a Parliamentary party to fight its battle, it would be absurd to attempt to chalk out some particular and unique course of strategy for them. But how is the rule of the majority to be enforced? Of course, the Convention cannot enforce. It can only recommend—it cannot compel. But if any members of the Party should, after the deliberations and the warning of this week, persist in ignoring the authority of the majority, the constituents of such men will have to take action at the next General Election, I sincerely hope that long before that time we may have come to a complete understanding among ourselves. Odd as it may seem to the outer way, there is absolutely no question of principlenone whatever-in dispute between us. It would, to my mind, be a very serious calamity, a national, an imperial calamity indeed, if the present constitutional movement were to be brought to nothing. For I think there can be little doubt that the failure of the constitutional movement would only stimulate and inspire the wish of many men at home and abroad to have a try at other means. Nothing on earth can get out of the hearts and spirits of the irish race all over the world the desire and the determination to obtain national self-government for Ireland. It would be a misfortune indeed if the Irish Parliamentary movement were to be compelled, even for a week—for a day—to give way to the different and the wilder enterprises. If I were an Englishman, and were only possessed of any reasonable amount of liberal thought and purpose, I should wish with all my heart that the endeayours of the Dublin Convention should set up again the constitutional movement in Ireland, and enable a great, and, ultimately, a certain reform in our system of domestic legislation to be accomplished in peace and with goodwill.

Impressions of the Convention.

(By a "Spectator," in the Freeman's Journal.)

THE great Convention of the Irish race has come and gone, and before its characteristic lines be lost it may be well to jot down a few impressions made upon a spectator to whom the proceedings suggested a comparison with similar assemblies in recent times. Such a comparison gives the measure and standard of its importance, and enables a forecast of its effect to be made with something approaching to accuracy. And first, as regards its size. The Convention greatly exceeded in numbers any of the Conventions called by the Irish Party since 1890, and was considerably larger than any Convention assembled since the beginning of the Home Rule agitation. The Convention that founded the National Federation in March, 1891, when the National League had been converted into a sectional and particularist organisation, met in the Antient Concert Rooms, and was easily accommodated there. The same hall, though less conveniently, gave space to the assembly in the autumn of 1892, after the general election, to frame a constitution for the National Federation. Neither of these gatherings at all approached in magnitude the Irish Race Convention. Not half those assembled in the Leinster Hall during the week could have crushed themselves into the rooms in Brunswick Street. In the March of 1893 a third Convention was held to consider, and, as far as approved, rectify the Home Rule Bill just introduced by Mr. Gladstone. The subject, it is not necessary to say, excited intense interest in the country, and the delegates outnumbered those that attended the Convention of the preceding autumn. But the Rotunda gave ample room for the seating of the delegates, and left a good deal of floor space to spare. The Leinster Hall was uncomfortably full on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the delegates present could not possibly have been seated in the Rotunda. Even excluding the delegates who came from abroad, there was a larger representation of Nationalist Ireland present than on any of the other occasions mentioned. If the opposition to the Convention is to be accurately measured by the effects produced on the attendance, then it would seem to have power merely to stimulate the National forces. The home delegation present at the Race Convention was far larger than that which founded the National Federation, far larger than that which framed the constitution of the organisation, and much larger even than that which, in the name of the Irish Nation, accepted substantially the Home Rule Bill of 1893 as a settlement of the Government of Ireland question.

Not alone was the attendance larger, it was more variously representative. The delegation from abroad gave the assembly a character that no other Irish Convention ever possessed. Not since the Irish

dispersion began has there been such a representation of the scattered provinces of the Irish world called to the capital of Ireland. But, apart from that impressive and distinctive feature, the composition of the Convention was most significant. There were more chairmen of Irish municipalities and chairmen and vice-chairmen of Irish poor law boards present than ever attended an Irish Convention previously. This extensive participation in the proceedings by the men elected to public positions by the votes of their fellow-citizens is especially encouraging to the Irish Party as indicative of the influences working

for the promotion of unity throughout the country.

The Convention was not only larger and more representative than any of recent years, it was also a freer Council of the nation. In none of the Conventions mentioned was there such full and frank discussion of the political position, none was so deliberative, none elicited such a display of the mind of the assembled delegates, and of the various phases of political thought and sentiment to be found in the ranks. The resolutions passed unamended, but there was a candid debate of them all, and a clear indication of the spirit and manner in which the resolutions were to be interpreted; and the final temper of the assembly was evolved after a process of debate and intercommunication which undoubtedly influenced many of the composing elements. The charge of political "bossism" so often levied against the National leaders in times present and past was never more ludicrously inapplicable than to the conduct of this Convention.

The discussions discovered a wealth of political capacity among the delegates. There were speeches from priests and laymen that reached an extremely high level of ability. Good speaking may always be expected in an Irish assembly. But the speeches referred to were not merely good talk, good oratory, they were most striking as specimens of reasoned politics, as expressions of sound statesmanship and political tact. The Bishop of Raphoe was more than justified in his boast that the Convention had proved that when Ireland has a Parliament of her own it will be one

worthy of a nation.

There never was a more tolerant assembly. It was intolerant of nothing but disorder. There was a fair hearing readily given to every speaker, no matter whether his opinions were out of harmony with the prevailing conviction or not; and the warmest appreciation was shown of any concession that made for the cause of unity. The Convention was evidently one that would have welcomed any Nationalist to a place in its councils, provided that he came loyally resolved to assist in securing to the National forces unity of strength and direction.

But combined with this spirit of toleration there was a predominant resolve to have an end of indiscipline and disunion in the Parliamentary representation. The Convention was all of one mind as to the necessity of unity and majority rule, though there was some slight difference as to how best to secure the desired ends. One large section of the Convention was evidently against further truce or negotiation with dissentients; a small section was for peace at any price; but the spirit of the body of the delegates was expressed in Father O'Hara's speech: amnesty and oblivion if the opponents of unity will; if not, a resolute struggle to end the disastrous indiscipline that has imperilled the Irish Part and the

National movement. That was not only the predominant mandate at the close, it was the unanimous mandate; for the course of the discussion, frank, free, and open, had moulded the feelings of the delegates into one.

The proceedings were tonic. There was a perceptible rise in the spirit and hardening in the resolve as the Convention wore to a close. It was always in earnest from beginning to end; but doubt, and something of despondency, gave way to confidence as the discussions progressed. Before the end came it was manifest that the Convention would be fruitful, that promise would be followed by performance, and the profession of the National faith by a revived activity of patriotic effort.

One other remarkable impression was made by the Convention—it was from beginning to end a Home Rule Convention. There were resolutions referring to many pressing Irish questions proposed and passed. But again and again through the discussions the speeches reverted to the topic—how to secure unity in the ranks in order to win Home Rule? And the attitude to all minor questions was expressed in the Most Reverend Chairman's opening speech, when he said that in pursuing minor reforms they should not lose sight of the main question. The Convention was very largely composed of men of the farming class, yet the interest exhibited by them in the resolution on the Land question was quite subordinate to that which they displayed on the National question. There was never a more complete answer to the argument that the Irish question is purely a social question than that furnished by the Course of the discussions in this Convention. It was inspired by the National idea; and in tone, temper, and capacity was worthy of the inspiration.

Address of Delegates from Abroad to the Irish People at Home and Abroad.

Before leaving for our respective homes we deem it our duty to place on record our grateful appreciation of the courtesy and kindness with which we have been received and treated by the home delegates to the Irish Race Convention.

We came absolutely unbiassed in our views towards any party or section of party in the Irish Parliame.tary representation, determined to form an independent opinion based on our own observations. We are bound to add that the gentlemen who are responsible for the arrangements of the Convention scrupulously abstained from any attempt whatever to influence our judgments. We have kept separate and independent our own organisation, and have asked no one who was associated with the movement at home to attend our conferences. We are satisfied that the great Convention which we have attended was, in its compositions.

tion, character, and numbers, representative of the Nationalists of

Ireland, and that it voiced the Irish National spirit. We have watched the proceedings of the Convention from beginning to end, and we have heard the fullest and freest possible discussion of every point brought under its deliberations, and we have seen that its decisions have been unanimously taken.

We have been particularly impressed by the earnest unanimity with which the Convention declared for genuine party unity necessarily involving discipline and respect for majority rule.

We record our own entire belief in party unity based on the only foundation possible—submission to the majority.

We believe in a real unity, and we exhort all who have the welfare of Ireland at heart to support the majority of their representatives, who have acted up to their pledge.

We believe in Party discipline as the means by which unity is maintained; and we declare that the preservation of discipline can be entrusted only to the men who keep the Party pledge.

As delegates from the Irish Race in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, and the Australasian colonies, we earnestly call upon the people of Ireland to stand together for unity in the cause of Home Rule and discipline in the Home Rule Party in Parliament,

As citizens of countries enjoying the blessings of free government we affirm there is no other line of effective action known to us than submission to the rule of the majority in political organisations.

We undertake, on our return to our various homes, to convey to our people our sense of the magnitude, authority, and order of the Convention; and, as delegates, we pledge ourselves to give our loyal and unfailing support to the Parliamentary Party until the blessings of selfgovernment have been won for Ireland.

(Signed),

UNITED STATES.

MARTIN F. M'MAHON, Rev. DENIS O'CALLAGHAN, ANTHONY KELLY, John Cashman, P. W. WREN, PATRICK DUNLEVY WILLIAM L. BROWN, Rev. GEORGE F. MARSHALL, PATRICK GALLAGHER, JOHN B. DEVLIN, Patrick Cox, JAMES DUGGAN. DENIS O'REILLY, PATRICK MARTIN, EDWARD TREACY TAMES O'SULLIVAN. PATRICK KINNEY, MARTIN FITZGERALD, JOHN W. CORCORAN JOSEPH P. RYAN. P. J. TIMMINS, M.D.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

Rev. T. Ryan, representing Archbishop of Toronto. JOHN COSTIGAN, Ottawa. JOHN HENEY, Ottawa. Very Rev. Dean W. R. HARRIS, Ontario, Canada. Rev. WILLIAM FLANNERY, D.D., St. Thomas, Ontario.



MALAHIDE ESTUARY, CO. DUBLIN.

Rev. Frank O'Reilly, Priest, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. Rev. P. F. O'Donnell, Priest, Montreal, Canada. John M'Keown, St. Catherine's, Ontario. Hugh Ryan, Toronto.
J. J. Foy, Toronto.
Rev. M. A. Clancy, Priest, Placentia, Newfoundland. James D. Ryan, St. John's, Newfoundland. Edward Halley, Montreal.
WILLIAM FOLEY, D.D., Halifax, Nova Scotia. Lieut.-Col. M'Shane, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Gerald B. Tierman, Halifax, Nova Scotia. P. F. Cronin, Secretary, Canadian Delegation. James J O'Brien.

AUSTRALIA.

CHARLES HAMILTON BROMBY, Northern Tasmania. THOMAS HUNT, Victoria. Mr. KENNEDY, Wellington.

SOUTH AFRICA.

H. G. Haskins, Johannesburg.

Moses Cornwall. J.P., Kimberley, representing Griqualand West.

Dublin, September 4th, 1896.

Speech by Very Rev. Dr. Ryan, of Toronto,

DELIVERED AT A RECEPTION GIVEN TO THE DELEGATES BY THE CITY OF CLONMEL, 22ND SEPTEMBER, 1896.

HE said he felt it difficult to respond to and answer the addresses and the magnificent reception which they had received at the hands of the people of the city of Clonmel and of gallant Tipperary. He knew very well the people had not assembled there to do them the pleasure of personal gratification. They had come there to honour them as the representatives of their kith and kin of the Irish race beyond the seas, to join in the grand struggle that has been going on so long, and which would go on until they had achieved the victory of their just rights-the struggle for the Legislative Independence of Ireland. As this was the last occasion on which probably he would address them in Ireland, he would desire to put before them, in a summarised form, his own views, first, as a representative from without and then as a witness from within, how he and his fellow-delegates considered the Irish movement in its present surroundings, their view of the Irish Parliamentary Party and the present Irish representatives, their view of what had passed at the late Convention, and what were their hopes for Ireland in the future. He might be considered as an outsider, but he felt to-day that for the first time he stood upon his native heath, for his forefathers for generations had been cradled in the lap of the Golden Vale, and had triumphs and trials in the city of Clonmel.

Now, the first point on which he was going to speak was on their attitude in coming to Ireland. What was that attitude? Some people called them foreigners when they came. He did not care, but there were gentlemen who did not like it. He thought they would agree that they were not foreigners in the real sense of the word. They were men of Irish birth or Irish blood, all true Irishmen, sympathising with Ireland heart and soul. He came to Ireland as the representative of an Irish bishop, a Kilkenny man, who was a combination of all that was magnificent in Irishmen. delegates were asked what right had they to interfere in the domestic uffairs of Ireland, and his answer was they did not come to interfere in Irish domestic affairs; they came to Ireland, and they contended they had a right to come to Ireland on several grounds. First, they had the right of friendship; secondly, they had the right of kinship; and thirdly, they had the right of invitation-a sacred right. Next, to put the matter on the lowest ground, they had a business right, for the Irish people asked them to help in the National movement at home, and they had a right as a mere matter of business to come and see whether they should invest in the work or not. They did not come to Ireland to dictate or to coerce or to interfere, but they came merely as friends, and the Archbishop of Toronto expressly emphasised the fact that he as his representative was merely coming as a friend, not to interfere with the magnificent hierarchy of Ireland, so learned so prudent, so wise, and so patriotic, not to interfere with the splendid, the historic priesthood of Ireland or with the great Irish people, for they knew they were well capable of managing their own affairs; but they came as outside friends to ask permission to tender their advice and give them the honour of continuing their moral and material support to the old struggle of the people at home. That was the position they took up, and he wished it to be perfectly understood. They came to Ireland not to any man or to any party, but they came emphatically to the Irish nation and the Irish people.

They had come to the great people of Ireland, and having come he would tell them what they had found. They had found the Irish Party and the Chairman of that Party, and they had found representatives of the Irish people assembled in a great Convention in the city of Dublin, and having fully considered everything bearing on the call of that Convention and the constitution of it, they had come to the conclusion that that Convention was a representative Convention. They knew the men from abroad. These represented the Irish race abroad, for they knew how these men were selected and elected. They saw at that Convention the great majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party with their Chairman. They saw nearly five hundred priests, and that splendid representative of the Irish hierarchy, the brave Bishop of Raphoe, presiding at it. They saw duly elected representatives from public boards and political organisations in Ireland, and, having taken part in that Convention, they said-"We cannot expect unanimity in Ireland any more than in any other land; we must expect differences of opinion amongst intelligent men; but still we can see that here in this Convention we have Ireland at home really and truly, and honestly represented." After that Convention the representatives from abroad held a caucus, and they came to the conclusion as men of business—many of them men of great experience in the political affairs of Canada, the United States, and Australia—they came to the solemn conclusion to support the resolutions passed at the Convention as the resolutions of an honest and

truly representative Convention.

He had heard difficulties raised, and there was one resolution proposed at the Convention with which he certainly sympathised, and that was the resolution proposed by that patriotic priest, Father Flynn of Waterford. Well, he might tell them a secret. The delegates from abroad had already considered a similar resolution, and they had come to the conclusion that though it was a very good thing to wait as proposed on various gentlemen, still that was impracticable. They came to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to wait on Mr. Healy and Mr. Redmond as proposed, but now that the Convention was sitting, and as Mr. Healy and Mr. Redmond did not put in an appearance, it was practically impossible. Why, in God's name, did not these gentlemen come to the Convention? They were free to come; they were invited to come. He called on these gentlemen-he called on Mr. Healy, and he also called on Mr. Redmond-but he did not find them at home; and he had interviews with the ablest and most representative men on all sides. There was, in his opinion, an answer to all that was alleged, and let it go to the public. It was alleged, first, that the difficulty was the incapacity of the chairman and the incapacity of the Party; and then that the Party was led by money.

Well, he knew the chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party personally, and he had also inquired of persons he could trust, and he would say this, that though the chairman might not be a heaven-born genius, he was a worthy leader of an intelligent and honest Parliamentary Party. The question really was whether the chairman was rightly elected or not, and if he was then obey him. As for the party, it was elected by the people, and why should they not stand by the men that the people elect? It was a party elected by the people of Ireland, and so far as the delegates from abroad were concerned, they were determined to stand by the present Irish Parliamentary Party. There was no other course open to them that was either constitutional or sensible.

Now, as to funds, what he would say he would state on his personal responsibility and personal knowledge. There were two funds. There was the Parliamentary Party Fund and there was a parish fund. It had been said that the Parliamentary Fund was administered for the purpose of personal coercion, and the leader used it for the purpose of gathering men around himself, and that no account was given as to the manner in which they were used. Now, just take this view of the matter. The Irish Party were elected to stand up for the interests of Ireland. In God's name, could not such men be trusted to manage a few paltry thousand dollars a year? They who were outsiders gave the money freely and generously to the Party, for they said to themselves, "These are the men our fellow-countrymen elect, and we feel sure they will deal justly, honourably, and honestly with the money." But what did he find was the fact? The books were there audited, and of course, no political party would print such accounts and publish them

to the world. He knew the accounts were there, and he was satisfied with them,

Then it was said, the leader having coerced the party, the party coerced the country. Now, in his opinion, the Irish people were an intelligent and a noble, free people, and they would never allow them-

selves to be coerced by any persons.

Then he was told that, in the case of the Castlebar Convention, the people were coerced by the leader, in order to force a candidate of his own on the constituency. Well, he went down to Castlebar, and he interviewed the priests, and he interviewed the leading electors, and it was proved to his absolute satisfaction that the people were not coerced by the leader, but that if the leader did anything, what he did was to preserve the liberty of the constituency to elect its own representative. Now, of those who criticised the party, he had asked, what was their

alternative programme?

Up to the present he had only heard suggestions as to difficulties, and accordingly he asked the critics for their own programme. One person suggested to destroy all the parties. Well, a great American statesman had impressed upon the people the proverb as to the danger of changing horses crossing a stream, but that was all the more true when there was not a second horse to change with. There was a party in Ireland who wanted quiescence, who wanted no representation at all. Oh! God forbid that Ireland should ever adopt this policy. Then it was said that the priests were not with the people. That was not so. The priests of Ireland were always with the people of Ireland. They were with the people still, and with the help of God they would always be with the people. They, from abroad, did not expect political perfection in Ireland.

They did not expect perfect unanimity. There were no men who felt and thought more on the question of the rights of minorities than the Irish in Canada. Minorities had the right to be heard, the right to argue, to influence by argument, and, if possible, to convert a minority to a majority; but minorities had no right to dictate any more than the majorities had. Minorities had not the right to calumniate, as majorities had not. Minorities had not the right to use opprobrious epithets, as majorities had not. And if a majority had not the right to coerce, then certainly a minority had not the right to coerce. They had a bitter

experience in Ireland of minority rule.

The people had men to guide them in the wise pronouncement of their able parish priest, a splendid representative of the priesthood of Ireland. He said, if the party proceed with wisdom, prudence, and discretion, and exercise a spirit of conciliation, he was convinced, and on going home he would tell his people, that though things were disturbed at present, still, by the time the General Election came round, they would find all parties in .Ireland united—the bishops, the priests, and the people. Thus united they would have the moral and material support of every Irishman the world over, and the Irish race, united at home and abroad, would march on in one solid phalanx until that victory was secured, by which they would have a native Parliament, a free people, and a glorious future for Ireland.

personal Reminiscences of the Irish Race Convention of 1896 by the Rev. D. If. ADCCrea.

(From the Michigan Catholic.)

THE great Irish Race Convention of last September has been and ceased to be. Its friends and foes have had their say; have spent themselves and feel happy. The promoters have declared it the greatest assembly of Irishmen and sympathisers the world had ever seen. Its enemies regarded it as a collection of drivelling fools, whipped together and ground beneath a yoke, against which they dare not kick.

In the midst of these conflicting claims and assertions would it be possible from some vantage ground, and free from the bias of party politics, to view the situation and judge what, indeed, has been the result, and what is likely to be the effect of the Irish Race Convention

on the future of this country.

I attended the Convention, not in any official capacity, but as an onlooker and listener. The sessions were held in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, and lasted for three days, beginning on Tuesday, September 1, and ending on Thursday of the same week. On the first day the session lasted four hours; on the second, five; and the third, five and a half hours. On each day there were at least 2,000 people present, and throughout the enthusiasm was unflagging. The hall was tastefully decorated, and on the walls hung suitable mottoes of Ireland's heroes and patriots. Among them, not the least remarkable, was that of Mr. Parnell's, which ran, "Let us cast aside all feelings of self-interest. Let us act only with a desire to benefit our country—to regain for her a place among the nations of the world." It is too clear that Irishmen have not yet forgotten the services of Mr. Parnell to their country, and it is undoubted that if he had retired from the leadership on that occasion so notorious in history, he should in a short time be replaced in that proud position, the temporary deprivation of which drove him to desperation. Every time his name was mentioned by the speakers it drew forth rounds of applause.

Fronting the gallery and right opposite the platform was the patriotic "God Save Ireland," in large blue lettering. A little incident occurred in this connection, at the opening of the proceedings, which might be interpreted as significant. The letters were sheets of paper or canvas, each about a square foot, and detached, but affixed with nails, or some such simple contrivance. At the very beginning of the first session the letter D dropped from Ireland. The fact was very



REV. DANIEL F. McCREA,
M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I.

generally noticed, and the parodies and homilies on the subject were amusing. A Kerry priest serio-comically declared it meant the Irish demon of dissension must go. This interpretation elicited very general commendation in his vicinity, But the general situation was taken very seriously by most people, and many doubts were expressed, both as to the peaceful conduct of the assembly and the bearing of the Convention on the future of the country. There were various surmises as to the chairman, and it was confidently asserted that no Irish bishop would take any part in the proceedings. Then as to the action of the Redmondites, the Healyites, and even that of Mr. Dillon, under certain circumstances, there were so many varying opinions. Thus passed the anxious moments before the actual business of the sessions, and meanwhile, the body of the hall was being crowded, and the platform was becoming well taken up with priests, delegates from abroad, and Irish M.P.'s, Towards noon, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, arrived, accompanied by some leading members of the Irish Parliamentary Party, while priests and people rose en masse, and cheered vociferously. His position was a difficult and trying one, for he had agreed to act as chairman throughout. He was the only bishop in Ireland, it has been stated, who would have any say to the proceedings; yet, it was impossible to detect in him any drooping of spirits, or readiness to shirk his terrible responsibility. He bowed slightly, and acknowledged the greetings of the vast assembly. Dr. O'Donnell is a native of Donegal; he is comparatively young, tall, fair complexion, with features neatly chiselled and attractive, displaying a high degree of intelligence. There have been many to find fault with the action of the bishop in permitting himself to be the centre-piece in a situation so critical. But even the most hostile Press is filled with admiration for his presence, his eloquence, his firmness, and his surprising selfcontrol.

The first day was taken up, mainly with the speeches of the foreign delegates, who, clearly enough, came unbiassed and unpledged. Everybody was impressed with their earnestness and their anxiety to restore

peace and union among Irishmen,

The speech of Very Rev. Father Ryan, the representative of Archbishop Walsh, of Toronto, was listened to with rapt attention. He was admittedly a worthy representative of the great Archbishop, who originated the idea of the Irish Race Convention. His voice was clear and ringing, his gesticulation appropriate, and he was altogether regarded as the right man in the right place. The foreign delegates, with no exception, acquitted themselves admirably, and they certainly did ably and well the work for which they were deputed. Many indeed were the regrets that a heartier welcome was not extended to them, and that the Capital did not pour forth its thousands to greet them on their coming. But in the unhappy and distracted state of public opinion that could not be hoped for. There were so many rumours, and so many charges were levelled at the chief representatives of the Irish nation, that well-intentioned people stood aside, uncertain which was right, and which was wrong. To take part in a public display to honour the delegates from abroad, was taking sides, it was thought, with Mr. Dillon, against Mr.

Healy or Mr. Redmond, and thus, business men especially, dreading to make for themselves enemies, kept in the background, read their papers, and spoke in semi-sentences. It was so at least as far as Dublin was concerned, but other portions of the country spoke out plainly, and frankly acknowledged as in duty bound their help in the past, their present sympathy, and the many sacrifices they had made in coming to Ireland for the historic occasion. In the forefront was Belfast, then Letterker ny, Enniskillen, Galway and Tipperary. Hardly anybody endeavoured to impugn the motives of the foreign delegates. There was an occasional thrust from the Dublin Press, which, however, seldom descended to personalities. Once only did the Independent make an attack of a personal nature—that on Chevalier Heney, Ottawa—which was quickly righted by Dean Harris, Toronto, and the sympathetic newspapers of the country. At such a time it could not be expected that the Press would remain inactive, taking into account the principles that were involved, and all the possible results of that great assembly on that were investigated the future. Now and then, during the sessions, therefore, the journals vented their feelings and caustic drollery. The St. James's Gasette came all the way from London, to parody Father Flynn, of Waterford, who proposed a resolution which excited a little storm. The Gasette has it :-

"Of parties, we offer a charmin' variety,
Parnellites, Healyites, Dillon's society,
Still we're at peace here till our anxiety,
Father O'Flynn makes it hot for us all.
Hould the prate of you, Father O'Flynn,
How shall we stop it, if once you begin,
At the convention?
Sure why should you mention
A word of dissension to stir up our gall?

"Let's talk of Reunion, Home Rule, Education, Whether we suffer from unfair taxation, 'Deed and we'll cheer for 'Ould Ireland a Nation'— Father O'Flynn puts a stop to it all. Come, I venture to give you my word, Never amendment like this should be heard: Take your Committee
To Waterford City—
Maybe it's witty, but here you look small.

"Och! we had yearnings and strivings for unity,
Sinking of self and regard for community,
Brandishing blackthorns the while with impunity,
Till you popped up—be hanged, Father, to you.
Sure the good Bishop looked grave at your jest,
Wishing you out of the way with the rest.
'Has the majority
All the authority?
Isn't Tim Healy an Irishman too?'"

I quote this, which I believe a very clever skit, and must have been written impromptu. After all, it is better a political cause should be treated hostilely than passed over with indifference by all sections of the Press, This hostility often creates for it significance.

Everybody at the Convention was charmed with the delegates foreign to these isles and loud in praise of the ability they displayed and the eloquence of not a few. In this latter regard there was a diversity of opinion, some regarding one as favourite, and some another. I was, however, particularly impressed by the speeches of Rev. Denrs O'Callaghan, Boston; Rev. Dr. Foley, Halifax; Mr. Joseph P. Ryam, New York; and Mr. Thomas Hunt, Melbourne. Nearer home, Mr. T. P. O'Connor delivered a speech of great power, and displayed remark ble ability. Many charges have been made against Mr. O'Connor, with what foundation in fact I know not, but these charges have had at least the effect of injuring his popularity with a section of Irish nationalists, I have no means of seeing into the condition of Mr. O'Connor's conscience, but no one could have watched him more closely than I during the proceedings, and he impressed me as being terribly in earnest and sincere. He could not have been more deferential to the presiding bishop, or to the priests who differed from him on some of the points at issue. I observe, he gave a very complimentary notice of the Bishop of Raphoe in his London paper. His general demeanour in this matter would seem to me in a goodly measure to dispose of the charges of anti-clericalism sometimes raised against him-a point upon which the Irish people, notwithstanding the existence of the Independent and one or two other papers of its ilk, are not a little sensitive. a splendid presence, is still in the prime of life, tall and powerfully built. is full of energy, and was about the best-dressed person in the assembly. The Irish members, generally speaking, could not be called dudes, and almost without exception they seemed dreadfully careworn, apparently having suffered from great anxiety as to the results of the Convention. They, one would think, preferred to leave the work of the meeting, and especially the oratory, to the delegates. But few or them spoke and usually a short time. Mr. Justin McCarthy's speech was brief but very much to the point. His manner is quiet, but dignified, and is evidently more the litterateur than the politician. The speeches of Mr. Davitt and Mr. William O'Brien were listened to with marked attention. Mr. Davitt's style is clear, terse and relevant. His manner is very decisive. He means what he says, and says it because he means it. Mr. O'Brien speaks well, is very fluent; his voice is suitable for oratory, but his gesticulation is extravagant. To all appearance he is not strong physically, and appears to have suffered from overwork and mental strain. Several times during the course of his speech he had recourse to the water carafe.

But there was none in whose speech so much interest was manifested as that of Mr. John Dillon, the Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party. Charges without limit were made against Mr. Dillon. Some said he was not under any circumstances a suitable person to be the leader of the Irish Race and cause. Others said he was dishonest, and that he forgot all else in his ambition to be the Chairman of the Irish Party. Again, it was claimed that he had acted harshly and imperiously to some members of that party, who were suspected of being his rivals for the leadership, especially Mr. T. Healy and those who sympathised with him. There were also charges as to his disposal of the moneys

contributed to the Irish Parliamentary Fund. All this was known to him; and a section of the Dublin Press especially spared no means to make him feel his painful position. At no time does Mr. Dillon seem very buoyant; but those who know him intimately say he is a bright and entertaining conversationalist, and a very agreeable and pleasant companion. Mr. Dillon is tall, slightly built, sallow of complexion, dark hair, which however, has become fringed with white. I had not seen him for ten years previous to the Convention, and, considering his very straining and laborious career, he seemed to me to have well stood the test of time. He might be styled dressy, with glasses and gold albert. Anybody could see there was something beyond the average in Mr. Dillon, and particularly when he began to speak. There he stood, confronted with the fierce light of the civilized world, taunted, accused, vilined, and required by the representatives of the Irish race at home and abroad, who came together in council, to give an account of himself, and answer to the charges preferred against him. Who will say this was not a terrible plight? He displayed, notwithstanding, great pluck and self-possession; and if one's countenance and manner are any index to honesty and sincerity, anybody would say he deserved the designation, in a remarkable degree, by which he was so long known—that of "Honest John Dillon." I followed his speech with great interest, as did everybody in the vast assembly. He is extremely eloquent, with pleasing voice and very appropriate gesticulation. I do not think that, during the course of a long speech, he was obliged to repeat a single word. It would be easily imagined from his appearance he was suffering from ill-health; but that impression is soon forgotten wher he warms into his speech. He explained his position at length, placing himself unreservedly in the hands of the Irish people, and willing to abide by their decision without a murmur. " Mr. O'Brien, he had more than once to have recourse to the water consolation, but otherwise showed no signs of physical exhaustion. His voice, nay, every word, could be heard in the most distant corner of the great hall, and thus he delivered one of the most remarkable and telling speeches I have ever heard. The whole assembly was charmed, and many who had hitherto regarded Mr. Dillon with disfavour became his most ardent adherents. No charges were forthcoming, and thus he took his seat amid the ringing cheers and plaudits of the great Convention. Mr. Dillon is still comparatively young, and has life enough yet and strength and energy to bring to a successful issue the cause for which the Irish people are labouring so earnestly and so patiently.

I wish I had space to enter minutely into the personnel of the Convention, for the material is so good. We have, however, to consider rather what has been effected by this historic gathering. Before entering on this consideration, I must not pass over unnoticed one who took part in the proceedings, and who has so many claims on Ireland—I mean the Hon. Edward Blake. I had never seen Mr. Blake before, nor did I meet him on that occasion, although I learn he is not difficult to approach; but I had been reading a good deal of him since he became connected with Irish politics. When in Canada some years ago I met many of his friends, who were high in his praise, and spoke

of the wonderful sacrifices he had made in associating himself with the cause of Ireland. They assured me that he might have been since Premier of Canada, not to speak of the loss of time and the many pecuniary disadvantages to which he has been subjected on this account. His motives have been impugned, as the motives of every public man are liable to be; but it is difficult to realize that one possessed of such natural gifts, of such high social standing, having already attained both wealth and fame, should make such sacrifices for principles in which he did not believe. Mr. Blake is one of those about whom you will at once inquire, "Who and what is he?" There is a good deal of repose in his manner, which is, at the same time, characterised by energy and great determination. He is tall, well and proportionately built, fair of complexion, clean shaven, somewhat dressy, and appears on the right side of fifty. On rising to speak, the reception that awaited him was very cordial. A great deal was expected of him, but he was fully equal to the occasion and the most ardent expectations. He spoke for a considerable time; his manner and voice were charming, and his articulation perfect. Every word of his was listened to with rapt attention, and carefully treasured. His remarks, to be sure, were not punctuated with the ringing plaudits accorded to some of the previous speakers. But it was easy to see that every utterance was having effect; and somehow, while the audience was carried away with his eloquence, and convinced by his reasoning, he inspired a respect which prevented those uproarious outbursts so usual on this and such like occasions. Mr. Blake certainly is one to inspire respect; he is a born statesman, and just such a one as one would expect to be the leader of a great party.

Now that the historic Irish Race Convention is over it remains to be seen what good has been effected, and if the real object for which it was convened has been attained, that of uniting all sections of Nationalists in this country. Let it be explained away as may seem best, there are undoubtedly three contending sections. There are the followers of Mr. Dillon, the followers of Mr. Healy, and again those of Mr. Redmond. The foreign delegates seemed to think some one common platform could be easily constructed on which the three divisions might meet in fellowship, sinking all past differences in the interest of the community. This idea pervaded many of their speeches, and they appeared to think, moreover, it was only necessary to give a word of friendly advice and encouragement to bring about the happy result. But there were points of difference which the casual visitor could not detect. There are still comparatively few signs of reconciliation. The priests and people are often in opposite camps. Bishops and their priests sometimes hold different views. Only a few Irish bishops have publicly expressed their opinion, however, and owing to the latest development it is not likely any others will interfere until they are called upon to effect a conciliation. The suggestion that the questions in dispute should be placed before the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, and some other members of the Irish hierarchy has been received by the people with much favour. The fund lately inaugrated by Rev. Matthew Ryan on behalf of Mr. Healy and those was support his policy, and which has been assisted by so many among the most influential of the Irish priesthood, goes to show that something must be done soon to effect a settlement. There are, notwithstanding, many of opinion that this new phase makes very little real difference in the state of affairs, and that both funds may be permitted to have their course, and that even if the new fund outstrips the other, there should be no very significant consequences. All sides, whenever the time comes, will uphold the interests of Ireland. This is well enough, but in the eyes of the nations, these divisions turn the Irish name into ridicule, and afford ample arguments to the enemies of Home Rule

in the British House of Commons.

The Irish Race Convention has certainly not put an end to dis-But it has had the effect of arousing public feeling and sympathy, which had grown lethargic. Everybody can see there is now no question of Home Rule, and all side issues have come to be regarded as commonplace. In the circumstances, nobody could make any more of the situation than Mr. Dillon; and if he retired to-morrow, now that Mr. Sexton refuses to have further concern with the cause, it would be difficult to see who could fill his place so satisfactorily. Since the common enemy has become too bulky and powerful to war with, and as the effort would be a hopeless one, Irishmen have directed their energies one against another. This condition of things is likely to continue for some time to come, especially as the Irish priesthood is so divided. At the beginning of the present struggles, the Irish hierarchy and priests preferred not to interfere directly in the politics of the country; but they were dragged into it, and the people besought them to espouse their cause, so much so, that such as did not render them the political sympathy and help they claimed, were regarded as taking sides with the British Government, its coercion and unjust laws. Entering on public life, eventually, they came to be regarded as public men, and their public actions and motives were criticised accordingly. It is most remarkable that the individuals who were foremost in dragging the priests from behind the sanctuary were the first, in many cases, to tell them they might go whence they came, and their services were no longer required. This estrangement, however, was, at the worst, only partial. It's difficult indeed at the present time to know which leader to follow, and whose policy is best, considering that members of the same family are divided, that priests and people are divided, and bishops and their priests. Mr. John Dillon claims to be the legitimate leader of the Irish cause, having been duly elected by the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party as their Chairman, and this election having received the confirmation of the great Convention; and he has more than once shown a disposition to meet his opponents half way, and make sacrifices in the interests of peace, and to secure that unity, which is indispensable to effect any important service to Ireland. Nothing, I think, could be fairer or more disinterested than his proposal at the Convention. "Let the Parnellites," he said, "and let the Healyites, if such there be, although I am not aware that any member of the Irish Party is prepared to go before his constituents and declare himself a Healvite-it has been suggested that there are three

parties in Ireland—let them assemble at any time during the autumn in Dublin and say: 'Stand aside, Dillon; stand aside, Redmond; stand aside, Healy, and we will unite under another man.' Then I say I am their man, and I shall be the first to sign a pledge, binding me to loyally follow that united party." It is difficult to see why the Parnellites and Healyites did not accept the challenge, made, as it was, face to face with the representatives of the Irish Race.

Inasmuch as some proposition of his, in reference to the Irish Race Convention, was lost at a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary Party, in preparation for that historic event, Mr. Healy absented himself on the occasion of the great Convention, and so reconciliation was impossible. Mr. John Redmond was also absent, but it was clear enough from his utterances in the Independent newspaper he was watching closely the current of events. Mr. Healy and his friends have shown very little disposition to be reconciled. The Parnellites, however, of whom Mr. Redmond is the avowed head, have made a move in the direction of peace and union. United Ireland, an organ of that party, has given an article which is very hopeful and encouraging. It is understood their resources are somewhat straightened. A short time ago it was announced that their favourite meeting place in Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin, had passed into the hands of a Protestant body. Whereupon the Freeman's Journal waxed exceeding sad, especially on the further announcement that they thought of shiring to the National Club. Reports have it the club is not in a thriving condition, a thing for which the Freeman, as will be observed from the following quotation, has much sympathy. "The story is told that as Sheridan was one night returning somewhat elated from dinner, he overtook a boon companion, who, in a worse plight than himself, lay prone in the mud of the roads. He implored assistance, and Sheridan, for an instant oblivious of his own condition, tried to help him. He seized him by the outstretched hand, and made three staggering attempts to raise him from the ground, but all in vain. Then he recognised the logic of the situation. 'My good friend,' he said, 'I cannot lift you up, but I can lie down beside you." Needless to make the application. Furthermore, it is gratifying, and augurs for unity, that Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon so recently stood side by side on the same platform in Tipperary on the amnesty question. But there is, on the whole, little sign of an immediate and thorough conciliation.

The friends of Mr. Healy, who have started the opposition fund, claim that their step is the first and best thing to enforce union. It is difficult to see how it could effect this purpose. Indeed it is difficult to know what is the real policy of Mr. Healy, and what his friends are wishing to secure for him. The question of appointing him chairman of the Party, seems not to have been entertained on any side. There is a feeling that the National Funds should be vested in trustees outside of the National Party, and that there should be more freedom accorded the constituencies in selecting their candidates; as also that the Irish representatives should keep free of all English parties.

effected that union among the various sections of Irishmen that had been hoped for at least in the fullest sense, still it is understood that its consequences shall be far reaching, and its decisions must eventually prevail. Its great principle was that minority should abide by the decision of the majority of the Irish Party. Without this principle it, would seem impossible to have any effective party, and it would be hopeless to conduct a party acting in unity. No matter what efforts are made to explain it away, the Convention was a memorable event, and never again would it be possible to bring together an assembly so representative of Irish blood, except perhaps on the occasion of opening the Home Rule Parliament in College Green, if then. Differences it is true, still continue. But too much is made of our squabbles. When we consider the terrible scenes enacted during revolutions in other countries and the fury of the populace in their efforts to bring about reforms not half so much needed as in Ireland, we shall see that the conduct of the people of this country, under the most provoking of trials, is praiseworthy by comparison. We have the power and influence of the English Press to contend with, which is about the best equipped Press in the world, and loses no time to turn to account our little differences, and hold us up to ridicule in the eyes of the nations. But in spite of the grinning enemies of Ireland our cause goes on. We look for help and sympathy to the Irish Race abroad, and their friends, especially in America. Sooner or later the national independence of this country must be accomplished.



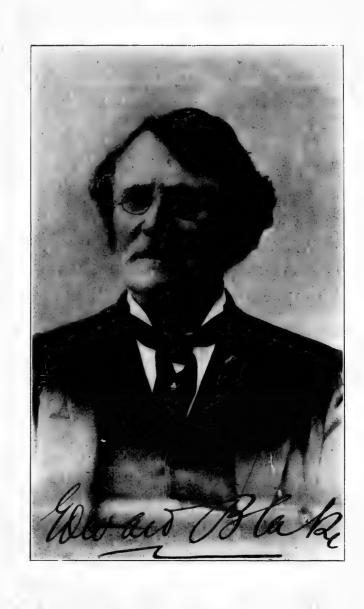


"But remember when you have completed your system of impoverishment, that nature still proceeds in her ordinary course, that discontent will increase with misery."

-EDMUND BURKE.

"There is no debt with so much prejudice put off as that of justice."—PLUTARCH.





mon. Edward Blake, AD. P.,

ON

Over=Taration of Ireland.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 29th MARCH, 1897.

HON. EDWARD BLAKE spoke as follows in support of his motion—

"That in the opinion of this House the Report and Proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland establish the existence of an undue burthen of taxation on Ireland, which constitutes a great grievance to all classes of the Irish community, and makes it the duty of the Government to propose, at an early day, remedial legislation."

Mr. Speaker, I rise to draw attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and to state the nature of the Irish case made out by that Report. I am glad to acknowledge that it has been favourably regarded in influential quarters on both sides of the House. But I am not insensible to the fact that there exists on the part of some members an indisposition, perhaps I might say an aversion to the discussion of Irish grievances; some entertaining a conviction that there is no use in spending more time over Irish affairs, since, whatever is said or done, the people are still unreasonably dissatisfied; and others cherishing the belief that Ireland is spoiled and favoured, rather than wronged and neglected. I feel too that the argument must be tedious, devoid of dramatic interest, full of wearisome detail. And most of all am I deeply conscious of my own inadequacy for the task which has been imposed upon me

Therefore I very earnestly supplicate the kind indulgence of the House while I attempt to sustain the motion of which I have given notice.

Sir, this differs from many former Irish questions. In those

Difference between this and other Irish questions. there was not so much as in this a united Ireland. In those the dominating British delegation often assumed to be impartial judges, disinterested persons, deciding between conflicting Irish factions. The Chancellor of the

Exchequer said a while ago that in the discussion of this matter "a judicial mind" was essential. And the voices of the Irish Members are little regarded, because they are said to be parties, and therefore not fit judges in the case.

But who, may I ask, are the other parties? If we be the plaintiffs, who are the defendants? You, the British members! But your position is more powerful, and therefore more invidious, than ours. We, even if happily united on this question here as much as in Ireland, would be only one-seventh of this magisterial bench. You can neutralise us with near five hundred judges to spare. Thus, in the decision, we are impotent; you all-powerful. You, then, are the judges; and we must plead with our adversaries to give judgment against themselves. On what then can we depend? Whence cometh our hope? We can rest only on the security declared in 1800 by a great British Minister to be adequate, when, speaking of this very contingency, he said—

"But it has been said, 'What security can you give Ireland for the performance of the conditions?" If I were asked what security were necessary, without hesitation I would answer 'None.' The liberality, the justice, the honour of the people of Great Britain have never yet been found deficient."

It is for you who speak for Britain to-day to make good Pitt's words of a century ago,

Sir, I will limit to the utmost my large demand upon your patience. There are numerous questions, readily discussible ad nauseam, involving economical and statistical problems, expert opinions, historical and legal views,

columns of figures. By expanding all these, and by dilating upon the precise extent of the grievance and the possible kinds of redress, it would be easy to obscure or sink the issue. I would gladly aim, if possible, rather at broad outlines and general results, and in some matters rely on expert authority; but, after all, tedious details are inevitable.

First let me ask the House to consider the gravity of the issue; and let me emphasise it by a brief enumeration of some startling facts, new and shritain's rule since Union. I ask British members to recall the economic conditions of the two islands—the ruling and the ruled. They should give pause before the dismissal of our plaint.

Take population. It is a great test, and involves a great element of strength. At the beginning Ire-Population. land had five millions against a little over ten millions in Britain. She has now four and a-half millions. less by half a million, or 10 per cent, of a loss in the century. Britain has now thirty-four millions, having increased by twenty-four millions, or 240 per cent. Had Ireland increased proportionately she would have had over sixteen millions; her relative loss is eleven and a half millions. She had half as many: she has little more than one-eighth of Britain. But even this view is inadequate. Only half a century ago Ireland had eight and a half millions. She lost two millions directly and indirectly through the famine; and since then so many more that, after eliminating the natural increase, her population has actually diminished by four millions, or 47 per cent. in half a century, an absolutely unexampled condition. Britain half a century ago had twenty millions; she has increased by fourteen millions, or 70 per cent. A proportionate Irish increase would make an Irish population of over fourteen millions. Her relative loss is near ten millions, or 70 per cent. in half a century.

Take next the condition of the people. Of this dreadfully reduced population there are large
masses whose scale of existence is far below
that of the corresponding masses of Britain;
while Britain's increased numbers enjoy a
steady and rapid advance in the standard of comfort.

In Britain the scale of living and the margin available for emergencies make famine unknown and Famine. impossible. In Ireland the scale is so low and the margin so narrow that even a single bad crop tends in important areas to famine, necessitating public aid. In 1879-1880, in 1886, in 1891, in 1894, you were obliged to pass Relief of Distress Acts for Ireland. In England there is no Congested Districts Board. In Ireland one-sixth of the country and near one-eighth of the population are thus dealt with. The average Poor-Law valuation of the area is £1 os. 2d. Many equally poor districts are excluded from the Act. There is painful evidence of chronic penury and want in those parts: reports which, if they could be alleged of a British district, would absolutely appal this House.

Britain imports from Ireland and abroad for her masses vast quantities of the best foods, in addition to what she raises. Ireland raises great supplies of the best foods, which she is obliged largely to export to Britain, and to replace by inferior commodities, Indian corn and American bacon—the best her poverty-stricken masses can afford to use. Ireland is, in proportion to population, the fourth meat producer in the world, but only the sixteenth meat consumer. For England the conditions are reversed. She is the sixteenth meat producer, but the fourth meat consumer.

 Britain, 26, being almost halved. From equality they have become near 4 to 1; an increase, however, partly due to the assimilation of the systems as to out-door relief.

Emigration has been draining from Ireland those in the prime of life. The very young and the very old remain. Thus the absolute and relative efficiency of the population has been lowered. Inferior conditions have produced other painful results. The proportion of deaf-mutes is near one-third larger than in England; of blind, two-fifths; of lunatics, one-third. And, on the other hand, the proportion of births over deaths is in Ireland less than half that in Britain.

Take manufactures and agriculture, Irish manufactures have largely declined. While between 1841 and 1801 the whole population decreased Manufactures 42 per cent., the manufacturing population Agriculture. decreased 61 per cent. Now only 27 per cent. of the Irish population is urban. In the same time the manufactures of Britain have immeasurably increased. and now 71 per cent. of her population is urban. The figures are about reversed. Thus, Ireland has become more and more dependent upon the land; 73 per cent. of her people live in the country, and 64 per cent, are directly dependent upon agriculture. It follows that she has suffered enormously, absolutely and relatively, by the fall in prices, accentuated by the loss of local town markets; and her gross and net returns from agriculture have been very greatly reduced, involving the loss of a large proportion of her yearly resources. Britain has become more and more independent of agriculture. Under 29 per cent. of her people are rural; and therefore she has been less affected as a country by the fall in prices; while agriculture itself has been helped by the wide-spreading urban districts, which have turned large agricultural areas into market gardens, and town supply-farms; a process which ought to be much accelerated.



ST. PATRICK STREET, DUBLIN.

Take commerce. Ireland has hardly any foreign commerce or investments, and a large part of her yearly income is drained away by absentee landlords and mortgagees. Britain is still the great manufacturer, merchant, carrier, and lender of the world, whose wealth she drains. Though Ireland still has a population of between one-seventh and one-eighth of Britain's, the number of her railway passengers is but one-thirty-seventh; of tons of railway freight, one-seventieth; of telegrams, one-e'ghteenth, and of money and postal orders, one-nineteenth—facts which prove her comparative stagnation.

Take resources. Sir Robert Giffen's conclusion is that, taking into account all circumstances, the incomes of the wage-earning classes in Ireland are, man for man, little more than half those of Great Britain. The gross income or yearly resources of Ireland are estimated too highly at 70 millions; those of Britain too low at 1,400 millions, or twenty-fold. The capital of Ireland was reckoned in 1812 at 563 millions, or over one-third that of Britain, which was 1,500 millions. Ireland is thought now to have 400 millions, or near one-third reduction, and Britain over 10,000 millions, or over seven-fold increase. Ireland has gone down relatively from over one-third to under one-twenty-fifth.

Sir, these comparisons might be easily multiplied and enlarged upon, but the bald statements prove that the conditions of the two islands you govern are wholly different and increasingly diverging in the extent of their resources, in the kinds of their resources, and in their economic circumstances and interests. They show that your rule has advanced yourselves, but failed to prosper her. They prove that her situation demands the just and generous consideration of the rich and powerful rulers of the weak and poor island whose destinies you control.

Let me add this one contrasting fact—that on which our present claim is founded. The one great point in which Britain exhibits a decline and Ireland an advance is in the scale of taxation! In Ireland the taxes on commodities which

strike the masses, were per head, in 1790, 4s.; in 1820, 11s.; in 1894, 22s.—they were doubled. In Britain they were, in 1820, 48s.; in 1894, 24s.—they were halved. The Irish taxes which had been under one-fourth have become almost equal, notwithstanding the relative poverty of the country.

Sir, may I deal, before considering our rights under the Union Act, with one cardinal point of economic fact; the relative taxable capacity of the two islands, as contrasted with their actual taxation. For the purposes of this debate it is enough to show the maximum

estimate of Ireland's relative capacity, reached by any one of twelve out of thirteen commissioners
The Joint Report finds that—

"While the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us to exceed one-twentieth."

This conclusion was reached after two years' examinaPersonnel of British section of Commission.

Let me, because of the imputation of bias, leave out all the Irish members, though some

of them, at any rate, ought to count in this question. Let me consider the British members only, who also, by the same reasoning, may have been unconsciously biassed against us. It was reached substantially by Mr. Childers, the first chairman, a distinguished economist and financier, an ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, a man retired from party politics, who devoted the last years of his life to this great public service, in the discharge of which he died. It was reached by Lords Farrer and Welby, who had filled the history posts in the British Treasury, and in the Board of

Trade-posts demanding and developing the qualities most required for the work; and whose public services had been rewarded by seats in the Upper Chamber, which was honoured and strengthened by their accession to its ranks. It was reached by the late Mr. Currie, a man of the highest reputation in these walks, who had proved his powers in other posts; and by Professor Hunter, a late colleague of ours, whose brain-power, knowledge, and industry are well-known here. It was reached substantially by Sir David Barbour, dissentient on other grounds, whose distinguished career abroad may, perhaps, permit him to be admitted as impartial, though marked by Irish birth. There remains just one British member: perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say the just one-a colleague of ours who does not give assent, proceeding on other lines, but, not as I understand, negativing the conclusion. It has indeed been said that even these British members are tainted, too, because they are favourers of Home Rule. But this is not now a question, though you may make it one, of Home Rule. The claim to Home Rule is made on other grounds. It is an absurd contention (as has been shown by the hon, member for Plymouth, whose sympathetic treatment of our case I gladly acknowledge) that such opinions could vitiate their judgment on this economic question. Then you must, as I submit, give great weight to the conclusions of that body of men, experts, but of like passions with ours, and subject to the same infirmities, who have vet found against themselves and you. It was reached on the evidence of Sir Robert Giffen and Sir Edward Hamilton, and others, great British public servants-the one the able head of the Treasury and the other an economist and statistician of eminent repute, heightened by his display on this occasion. It was reached after collecting, weighing, and sifting all information suggested from every quarter, and valuing and applying all tests-population, imports and exports, consumption of duty-paid goods, consumption of commodities of primary

use, assessment of death duties, assessment of income tax, other incomes and wages, yearly wealth, aggregate production, capital, comparative progress of capacity, relative effects of fiscal policy, and so on, with statistical facts too numerous to name.

It was reached after examination of the principles of taxation and their application, including some which made a serious difference amongst us, mainly because some of us thought that the

mainly because some of us thought that the gross income was relatively smaller, and that a larger application was needed of the principles of equality of sacrifice, of deduction of a subsistence allowance, and of the relative taxable weakness of a poor as compared with a wealthy country. Some of us believed, and now believe, that a just application of these principles would show the Irish relative capacity much less, and her taxable surplus almost exhausted, while the British is hardly touched We saw an Irish surplus over living allowance of perhaps fifteen millions mainly abstracted by taxation, and a British surplus of perhaps eleven hundred millions less than tithed by taxation. We saw the Irish relative taxable capacity steadily diminishing. We thought, in accordance with Sir Robert Giffen, that a far lower proportion would be true, and also that a maximum contribution should be fixed so as to meet the proved danger of excessively increased expenditure. I quite agree that a rigorous application of these figures and principles is not to be hoped for yet. .It still is true that-

"To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly; and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

But a nearer approach should be made; and I hope some day to maintain this view in this place. Meantime, I ask you to remember that this is stated only as a maximum. Sir Edward Hamilton himself, towards the close of the inquiry, put the relation of resources as one twenty-second apart, as I understand, from the question of subsistence

allowance, and Lord Farrer has lately, in another place, declared his conviction to be that the maximum named is too high. For my present purpose, this is enough and

more than enough. It so far proves a great Enormous disproportion-so far establishes a substantial Over-Taxation grievance-so far calls for a remedy. I would proved. only ask you to remember that the contribu-

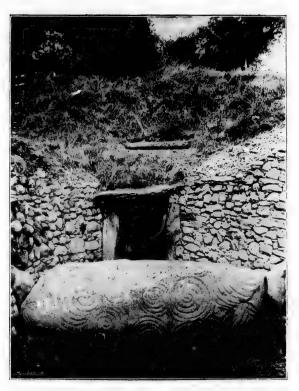
tion of Ireland is between one-eleventh and one-twelfth, or nearly twice her maximum relative taxable capacity, and thus reaches a minimum excess of two and three-quarter millions. As I have said, on the question of precise degree the Commission was divided. All the facts and arguments are now before the Government, which should propose a decision to be settled some other day on broad lines by Parliamentary adjustment and compromise. I cannot then accept this as the just estimate: I ask you to accept it only as a maximum. Indeed, I am not sure that this proposition is now disputed. It takes me only part of the way in my argument; but I strongly argue that by itself it creates an urgent case for relief on the grounds of fair play and generous consideration due from the strong to the weak.

But, sir, the case of Ireland stands higher. It stands upon treaty and justice, equity and right. True basis of Ireland has been found by the Commission Ireland's Case. entitled to separate consideration as a fiscal Report. entity in this question of contribution; and

the finding is of weight. This is, however, not a question especially for experts. It is based on historical, legal, and equitable considerations, peculiarly for the final decision of this House, and I must ask your patience while I briefly state its grounds.

In 1782, Ireland had partly emerged from that condition of servitude as to her trade and manufactures Historydescribed in 1785 in wounding words by Pitt, 1782 to 1800. Grattan's adding "Ireland had been made completely Parliament. subservient to the interests and opulence of

Great Britain;" and further, "Such a system, however



TUMULUS AT NEW GRANGE, CO. LOUTH.

necessary it might be to the partial benefit of districts in Britain, promoted not the real strength and prosperity of the Empire." From 1782 to 1800 Ireland had a measure of independence, though under a defective constitution. During the first ten years there was peace. The country, though poor, was improving; manufactures, productions, and exports expanded; the establishments were moderate; the taxation was one million, equal to 4s. a head, all on consumption; and it met the expenditure. Then came the French war, followed by the Rebellion, after which a large army was planted on the country during the negotiations for the Union. These calamities had, by 1800, raised the taxation to two and a-half millions, or 10s. a head. There was a deficiency of over sixteen millions-ten millions for the war; six millions for the Rebellion and armed occupation. To meet this a debt of twenty-eight millions had been created, the charge for which was one and a-quarter millions. This condition was, of course, abnormal and temporary. The taxation of Britain at the same time, of which two-thirds was upon consumption, was £3 a head, or six-fold that of Ircland.

Then came the proposals for Union. They excited alarm at the danger of over-taxation of Ire
1800. Union Proposals. Speaker Foster, and other Irish members, in language which sounds prophetic now, anticipated the sad future. These alarms it was necessary to soothe.

There was no pretence that Ireland was able to bear the British rate of taxation. Her absolute and relative poverty was acknowledged, and calculations were made professing to show the relative resources and to fix the just proportion of contribution of each country to the

common burden to be assumed by the United Kingdom. The bases were unsound, narrow, defective, now exploded; and, besides, they included some unfit Irish, and excluded

some proper British elements of calculation. The result was an erroneous estimate of relative taxable capacity of two to fifteen. Mark that the population was one to two; the quota, one to seven and a-half. The justice of the estimate was disputed. The Irish Lords protested, calculating that one to eighteen or twenty was the truth; and they were justified by the event. The principle of proportionate contribution was sound; but its application was false, and its results were ruinous.

It was thought possible that a change might be made later allowing equal and indiscriminate taxation, subject to abatements and exemptions for Ireland. The main difficulty present to men's minds was the debt. Apparently the promoters contended that the leading end, namely—contribution according to resources—could be accomplished by the alternative arrangement. But it is clear that this was not absolutely held, for in April, 1800, Pitt said—

"It were a consummation much to be wished that the finances of both countries were so nearly alike that the systems of both could be identified. But as, from the different proportions of debt, different stages of civilisation and commerce, and the different wealth of the nations, that desirable object is rendered impracticable for some time to come,"

And so on.

Pitt's professions.

Pitt's professions.

Thus there was a clear acknowledgment of the elements of our case—the materiality of the differences in civilisation, commerce, and wealth of the nations. The British professions were all against any increase of Irish burdens. Pitt assured the House—

"That the Union was not sought from a pecuniary motive;" it must infuse a large portion of wealth into Ireland, and supply its want of industry and capital;" "there was no ground for the apprehension that Britain would tax Ireland more heavily," or that Ireland would be subject to an increase of taxes or to a load of debt;" "the contribution to be imposed on Ireland would not be greater than her own present necessary expenses;" "Ireland would continue to contribute in its accustomed proportion;" and that "one of the

objects of the Act was to ensure that Ireland should never be taxed but in proportion as we tax ourselves."

Castlereagh's professions. Viscount Castlereagh in the Irish House said the same. He stated that the plan of revision—

"Gave to Ireland the utmost possible security that she could not be taxed beyond the measure of her comparative ability, and the ratio of her contribution must ever correspond with her relative wealth and prosperity."

He, however, suggested that if indiscriminate taxation were adopted it would have this effect, saying that—

"By no means whatsoever could the kingdoms be made to contribute so strictly according to their means as being subject to the same taxes, equally bearing on the great objects of taxation in both countries."

Abatements and Exemptions. Thus this suggestion was not to defeat but to maintain the principle of proportionate contribution of the two countries, and, therefore, it was coupled with appropriate security,

being made-

"Subject to abatements and exemptions in Ireland and Scotland, which circumstances might from time to time demand."

On this provision, Castlereagh said-

"While Ireland is thus secured against any injustice in substituting a system of common taxes in lieu of proportionate contribution. the Union Parliament will always be able to make abatements in Ireland, as the Parliament of Great Britain has always done in Scotland since the Union, when from local circumstances the high duty cannot be levied without either rendering the revenue unproductive or pressing too hard upon the poorer classes."

Mark these words. They explode the idea that the comparative poverty of the poorer classes in Ireland is to be ignored. It is to be recognised. The individuality of the country, the separate entity, so to speak, is in this respect, maintained. And indeed it is absurd to argue that a country full of contrasts with Britain in all respects, for which you are every day legislating separately, whose whole body of law is different from yours, should be in this

matter, in which also its distinctions are fundamental, recognised and increasing, treated as one with you.

Pitt, indeed, could not decline to recognise the rule we invoke as between a poor and a rich country, for in 1785 he said, as to these two islands—

"The smallest burden on a poor country was to be considered when compared with those of a rich one, by no means in proportion to tue several abilities, for if one country exceeded another in wealth, population and established commerce, even in a proportion of two to one, he was nearly convinced that that country would be able to bear near ten times the burden that the other would be equal to."

The reason is that in order to pay taxes we must live; and that therefore a subsistence allowance must be made; and even the margin after that allowance cannot be heavily touched without disaster. Some economists think that fifteen per cent. is the extreme point on an average; and, of course, the narrower the margin, the sooner the extreme point would be reached. These considerations show that it was intended to secure and maintain a due recognition of the inferior capacity of Ireland, as a country, so long as that inferiority existed; first by the creation and revision of the quota; and later, if the other plan were adopted, by due consideration in the levying, and due exemptions and abatements from the taxes.

If, then, it be possible so to read the Act it ought to be so read. Sir, it is not only possible but inevitable. Look at the Union Act, as quoted in Mr. Childers' Report. The seventh article, after providing separately for the debt,

onacts-

"That for twenty years the contribution of Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Britain and two parts for Ireland; and at the expiration of twenty years the future expenditure of the United Kingdom shall be defrayed in such proportion as Parliament shall deem just and reasonable—(1) on comparison of imports and exports; (2) on comparison of consumption of beer, spirits, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, and malt; (3) or according to the aggregate proportion of both the above comparisons; (4) or on com-

parison of income, in case a general like income tax was established. The Parliament was afterwards to proceed in like manner to revise and fix the proportion of burdens at intervals of from twenty to seven years, and the fixed proportion was to be raised in each country by such taxation in that country as Parliament deemed fit."

So far all is quota; and all is clear. Then the Act provides that-

Union Act : Indiscriminate Taxation.

"(1) If, at any future day, the separate debt of each country be liquidated or reach equal proportions, and (2) if it shall appear to Parliament that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately by equal

taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom, it shall be competent to Parliament to declare that all future expenditure and the debt charge shall be so defrayed indiscriminately and by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country; and thenceforth from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such abatements and exemptions in Ireland and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand."

The principle of comparative National Capacity

continues still

Note that it was not on the sole condition of the attainment of the quota by the debt, but also on the determination of Parliament that "the circumstances of the two countries would admit of it," that the change could take place. And thus, even thereafter, the principle of regulating the

contribution by national circumstances remained. Note again that even if the change did take effect, yet the imposition of equal taxes on the same articles was subject in Ireland, though not in any English county, to abatements and exemptions. It was recognised therefore that the plan might not produce the stipulated result, which was still intended, of contribution according to ability; and a remedy was provided for all time. I implore you not to minimise that remedy! This safeguard against national injustice under the indiscriminate system was designed to preserve to Ireland substantially the same immunities. Does anyone pretend that it was designed that her condition should be injuriously affected by the later change? Could the Act of Union have been carried on any such suggestion?

Ireland is not placed in the position of an English county. You ask why should not Wiltshire or East London complain. Some answers are—They have not our clause: they have no distinctive position: they are protected as parts of the ruling island.

It is thus clear that Ireland has always been entitled to claim that she should be taxed by the United Kingdom Parliament only in substantial proportion to her relative taxable capacity, and it is clear also that, regard being had to that relative capacity, she has been overtaxed by this Parliament.

Well, Sir, one would say the question is ended! But it is now argued that this is only half the issue; that there is a question of the application of United Kingdom taxation; that it is to be divided into four sets of estimates; one for

England, one for Scotland, one for Ireland, and one for the United Kingdom; that the contribution of each of the three countries is to be charged first with its own estimate; that the obligation to proportionate contribution applies only to the newly proposed United Kingdom estimate; and therefore that it is only in respect to the balance available for this new and separate estimate that any question of overtaxation can arise. It is to the recognition and application of this new principle that the proposed Commission is mainly directed; and against that proposal we protest.

The First Lord of the Treasury said at Manchester, on the eve of the session, that those who argue that Ireland's capacity is one-twenty-first are, necessarily committed to the view that she should pay one-twenty-first to what he is pleased to call Imperial objects; and he argued that the expenditure of the Imperial Parliament is to be divided into three amounts—one to be debited to Britain, one to Ireland, and one to remain as the true Imperial Budget, in respect of which latter alone, no matter what the results of the other accounts



her taxable proportion is to be paid by Ireland. This he called "clear and logical"; and he declared that the result of this method would be to show that Ireland was not over-taxed, but under-taxed by the present system. And it is to establish this result that he intends the new Commission.

Sir, I will show later the circumstances under which this novel and schismatical doctrine was pro-The Union niulgated, and is now advanced, and its ex-Act allows no division of traordinary, far-reaching, and separatist con-Expenditure. sequences, wholly opposed to the general conception of Unionist policy. And I will then deal with certain exceptional provisions which demand separate consideration. At present I deal with the contention only in its general aspect and on the basis of the treaty, in order to relieve the House from recurrence to that fundamental instrument. Now, what support does the general contention derive from this, the only effective quarter? None! Absolutely none! The topsty rightly regards all expenditure by the Parliament of the United Kingdom as United Kingdom extenditure. Its basis is that all expenditure decided on hat Parliament, as in its view required, who nature, without regard to the local" in " shall form one total, to be cont try according to its relative taxab apacity. ... United Parliament, in which Britain had an overwhelming majority, had power to fix the objects and the scale of expenditure. Ireland could not lay burdens on Britain, or vote herself one necessary shilling. Britain could lay burdens on It land, and could refuse to vote her an unnecessary shilling. The dread of Ireland was that she might be over-time, and under-supplied; and the Treaty was framed to et this apprehension. You may say-"What! is Britain to ay and Ireland to spend?" Not so. The United Kingdom is to expend on objects which practically the British majority decides are proper, in whatever part of the kingdom the expenditure may take place, and to whatever extent Parliament may think necessary. And, to the aggregate expenditure so settled, each country is to contribute in proportion to its capacity. But you, the Unionists, are now arguing that the expenditure is in effect federal, and must be subject to separate accounts!

Let me recur to the Treaty to demonstrate the truth.

1t contains one, and but one, provision for separate contribution by each country, namely, to the debt charge; and this was established

in justice to Ireland, because her debt was so much lighter that to consolidate the debt would have involved a disproportionate burden. But this exception from the general rule marks more clearly, in reason and in law, that in all other matters there was to be no separate accounting. It goes on to provide for the defrayal of the

"Expenditure of the United Kingdom"

in the quota proportions, and for the defrayal, after twenty years, of-

"the future expenditure of the United Kingdom (other than the interest and charge of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable)"

in proportions to be ascertained as provided. Thus the whole expenditure of the United Kingdom, apart from the debt charges, was so to be defrayed. But the Act lays down that—

"For defraying the said expenditure, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund which shall be charged in the first instance with the interest and sinking fund of the debt of Ireland, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the United Kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year."

It provides that the proportion of the contribution to which Britain and Ireland would be liable shall be raised by such taxes in each country as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall determine, with a provision against certain increases in Irish duties. It then enacts that—

"If at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest and sinking fund and the pro-

portion of the contributions and separate charges to which Ireland shall then be liable, taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the Parliament of the United Kingdom to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency in the Irish revenue in time of peace, or to be invested to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland in time of war."

It is thus clearly shown by the specific appropriation of the whole revenues of Ireland that there is no place whatever for the proposed plan. Every shilling to be raised from her is appropriated; and no possibility exists of such an application as is now suggested. Again, the House will remark the provision for the application of a surplus to local purposes in Ireland. It is not every expenditure in Ireland that is local; the place alone does not make it "local;" the purpose itself must also be local. The Act also provides for the application for twenty years "to local purposes in Ireland" (repeating the same phrase) to be decided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, of a sum equal to the average grants by the Irish Parliament for the prior six years in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintenance of institutions for pious and charitable purposes. Now, Sir, it seems to me too clear for argument that no such principle as is now set up was contemplated or agreed to at the Union under the quota system. And I need not say that no such practice was attempted.

But the Act, when providing for a possible change to indiscriminate taxation, only provides a new method for supplying the same expenditure, on the same principle of just contribution, and contains no hint of authority for any different dealing. It provides for this possible change only—

"If it shall appear to Parliament that the respective circumstances of the two countries will admit of their contributing indiscriminately to the future expenditure of the United Kingdom."

It enacts that in that case-

"All future expenses thenceforth to be incurred" shall be defrayed accordingly, subject to abatements and

exemptions. This is the same expenditure, provided for according to the same general principle, namely, relative resources, by another method. It introduces no further change. Under the new idea the protection of Ireland would be quite illusory, for she might be taxed beyond the quota by the United Kingdom Parliament, which might make provision for large expenditure in Ireland, forming a prior charge on the quota. How could this be met, save by extra taxation? Yet the quota limit was provided to meet all taxation.

Now, Sir, as this is a cardinal point, I fear I must trouble the House with the views of that great majority of the Commissioners who, by separate yet accordant reports, reached my conclusion. Mr. Childers says:—

"We think that the nature of public expenditure in Ireland and the possibility of reducing it would be a very proper subject for a separate inquiry. It does not, however, seem that, because the cost of central administration in Ireland is greater relatively to population and wealth than it is in Great Britain, this, by itself, is any reason why the people of Ireland should contribute to the public revenue a share in excess of her relative wealth." "It was, in our opinion, the clear intention of the promotors of the Act of Union that so far as related to taxation, or the raising of revenue (whether contributing, as she did, according to a certain ratio till 1817, or whether, as subsequently, by way of indiscriminate taxation, subject to exemptions), Ireland should have a distinct rosition and a separate consideration. But it was equally their intentio: that all expense, including no less that upon civil government in Ireland than that upon the army and navy, should be in common or Imperial. It was never intended that the ratio of contribution or the extent of the exemptions and abatements (as the case might be) should be affected by the consideration of the relative cost of administration in each of the three countries. We think that while the legislative and fiscal Union between the kingdom remains this way of treating the matter must hold good."

The O'Conor Don and Messrs. Redmond, Hunter, Martin, and Wolf say in substance:—

"The division of the Imperial expenditure into three parts—one for local purposes in Great Briain, one for local purposes in Ireland, and one for Imperial purposes, is a distinction of quite modern creation. It was not thought of at the time of the Act of Union. It is quite clear, according to the provisions of that Act, that the Imperial expenditure to which Ireland was to contribute under that Act included all civil government expenditure, no matter in what part of the United

Kingdom it took place. Nothing can be clearer than Mr. Pitt's and Lord Castlereagh's declarations on this point, and it is not denied by Sir Edward Hamilton that if the provisions of the Act of Union were still in force Imperial expenditure should be treated as a whole, and could not be split up in the way he suggests. This distinction was not thought of either at the time of the amalgamation of the Exchequers, or when Irish taxation was increased, or in the Irish Taxation Committee of 1864. In truth, at those times, it would not have served as a defence, for the account was all the other way, and the adoption of this principle would have proved Ireland a creditor."

Mr. Sexton and Messrs. Slattery and Blake say in substance:—

"Ireland, under the Treaty of Union, is, and must be regarded as, a separate country for the purpose of taxation. This is evident by the system of proportional taxation. Yet Lord Castlereagh, in moving the article, dwelt on the sacrifice to be made by Great Britain and the advantage to be gamed by Ireland, and in proof of this advantage declared that—'If the proportion of expenditure be rightly fixed and ascertained upon just principles for every part of the empire it is immaterial to Great Britain where the expenditure takes place.' The principle thus enunciated, contribution according to relative means, expenditure as required, and without regard to limit of contribution, is the principle of the Treaty. Thus Ireland is to contribute her whole revenue to the whole revenue of the United Kingdom—not part of it to meet one set of charges and the rest to defray another; nor has the amount of Imperial expenditure any effect or bearing on the question of the amount which her circumstances, compared to those of Britain, enable her to contribute to the common exchequer. The Imperial Parliament secured the power and accepted the duty of administering Irish affairs on the covenant that the taxation of Ireland should not be in excess of her relative resources. The violation of this covenant cannot be justified or excused by a reference to the kind of expenditure in Ireland which the Imperial Parliament, in the discharge of its assumed duty, has thought it necessary or proper to incur."

It appears from the evidence that the late Sir Robert Hamilton was of the same opinion. There are then ten Commissioners, including three British Commissioners—Messrs. Childers, Hamilton, and Hunter—who have taken this position. And Lords Farrer and Welby and Mr. Currie, while—pressed, as I understand, by certain special cases—they are

"unable to admit the general principle that local expenditure which is sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament must be regarded as Imperial expenditure."

think that

"there is both truth and value in the contrary allegations [which

they set out] if these be confined to the support of the argument that we cannot, in taking an account between the two countries, justly set off the whole or the greater part of this expenditure against the overtaxation of Ireland."

And thus there is, to a very large extent, unanimity on this head. I will deal later with the special cases referred to. At present I ask the House to agree that in the Treaty there is no ground for the general contention that expenditure in Ireland by the United Kingdom Parliament is to be separately borne by Ireland.

Well, Sir, the Union was consummated. The long war

History— 1800 to 1817. The quota excessive. followed at enormous cost. Irish taxation was raised from under three millions in 1800 to six millions in 1817. The Select Committee of 1811 reported serious falls in the Irish revenue

in several periods, caused by a lessened yield, concurrently with doubled and trebled duties. The Select Committee of 1817 found that Ireland had advanced in permanent taxation faster than Britain; for while Britain's permanent taxation had been raised in the proportion of 16½ to 10, and her whole revenue, including war taxes, as 21½ to 10, Irish taxation had been raised as 23 to 10. The bulk of the Irish increase was on the consumption of the masses which was taxed to and beyond the highest productive point. Yet Ireland could not meet the quota. Her debt was increased by 84 millions as against a British increase of 201 millions, or as 1 to 3½.

Thus the predictions of the Union-makers were falsified by the event. The Irish Lords' protest against the Union Act sounds like a prophecy. They had protested—

"Because, when we compare the relative abilities of Great Britain and Ireland, we find the contributions to be paid by the two kingdoms to the expenses of the new Empire most unequally adjusted; that the share of 2-17ths fixed upon us as the proportion to be paid by Ireland is far beyond what her resources will enable her to discharge. Should Ireland undertake to pay more than she shall be able to answer, the act will be irrevocable, and the necessary consequences will be a gradual diminution of her capital, the decline of her



BELLEEK, CO. FERMANAGH.

trade, a failure in the produce of her taxes, and, finally her total bankruptcy."

The quota was excessive! Some of the Commissioners think it was because the rate was too high; others because the war was too costly; others for both these reasons. But there is practical unanimity in the finding that—

"The Act of Union imposed on Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear."

This finding I ask the House to assent to; and to remember that this was the beginning of the evil.

This first experience demonstrates the truth of the view

Need of limitation of contribution. that there should be some limitation to the call which, under such a union, the richer may make on the poorer nation. A joint expenditure, the proportion of which, though heavy, may be

tolerable on a lower scale of joint expense, becomes intolerable to the poorer nation when the scale is raised, while it may be no more than heavy, and quite tolerable still, to the richer nation. Another illustration has been given by the results of the very latest statements as between Ireland and Britain, which show that while Ireland's contribution is larger than ever, the disproportionate excess contributed by Britain has apparently lessened for the year the Irish grievance!

By this road Ireland approached a bankruptcy due to the unjust quota fixed by the Union Act, and one would have thought it the fairest course to anticipate by three years the stipulated term, and to revise the quota at

once. But by this road, though through a reversed process, the debts had come into quota proportion, and this opportunity was used to bring the other plan into force. For lack of time I pass over, however serious, the irregular dealings with the joint and separate debts, though I think they were contrary to the Act, and a violation of the agreement, and did not form a legal basis of action.

The plan was proposed as the simplest means of dealing with the debt, and it is perfectly clear that there was no intention at that time of actually levying common taxes.

Abatements and exemptions. Under the prime Minister, in contemplation of the measure, said in

1815 :--

"He trusted that when the two Treasuries of Great Britain and Ireland should be consolidated, such a measure, arranged with due caution, would be found exceedingly advantageous to all parties, and that the Irish public would benefit by its operation. Care would, no doubt, be taken in regulating the taxation to pay due regard to local circumstances, and that the principle of the measure in contemplation should be equally fair to Great Britain and Ireland."

And Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the Irish Chancellor, said in reference to the results of the consolidation:—

"I do not fear that Parliament will ever declare the competency of Ireland to bear the entire weight of that taxation which the wealth and resources of England enable her to support, without reference to those considerations upon which alone Ireland should be exempted from those burthens which are laid upon all other subjects of the United Kingdom. The power of that exemption is specially reserved to Parliament by the Act of Union."

After the requisite preliminaries, on the 1st July, 1816, the Bill consolidating the debts and revenues became law. But in these proceedings twice reappears the Union Act provision as to abatements and exemptions. The extraordi-

nary declaration that-

is itself made,

"The circumstances will admit of indiscrimate taxation,"

"subject to such particular abatements and exemptions in Ireland and Scotland as circumstances may from time to time appear to de-

The declaration of expediency provides for the imposition of common taxation subject to abatements and exemptions in the same terms. Thus the Union Act provision has never lost its force. It was long acted on substantially; it is acted on to some extent to-day.

Sir, may I now briefly state the course of taxation from 1817 to 1860. There was, up to 1853, no substantial, 1817 to 1860. Twenty millions of the taxation, 1817 to 1860. Twenty millions of the taxation of Britain was not imposed on Ireland. But though peace had been restored, and the expenditure of the United Kingdom enormously lessened, the Irish taxation, already shown to be excessive, was retained, while great remissions were made of the British

The policy of freeing the burdens on manufactures by abolishing the taxes on materials and on food supplies was evolved and prosecuted. To this new end Peel, in 1842 and in 1845, renewed the British income tax, originally a war tax.

war taxes.

But it was not extended to Ireland, on the grounds that it had never existed there; that there was no machinery for its collection; and that, as Britain would derive by far the greater advantage from the policy, it was but fair that she should bear the tax. In fact, five and a-half millions of taxation thus imposed on Britain enabled the remission of twelve millions to Britain. This was a good and fair argument. But I ask the House to note the recognition of the separateness, and of the diverse conditions, and of the different effects on different countries of a common system which it involves. I wish these sound views had continued to prevail. The general result was to lighten British burdens, directly and indirectly, and to promote enormously her commerce and manufactures, her wealth and population—in short, her tax-paying power.

The policy as to free food supplies was, of course, precipitated by the Irish famine, when her people Free Trade: died of hunger, while large quantities of food

Free Trade:
Effect
on Ireland.

died of hunger, while large quantities of food
were being exported from the country to pay
rents. Ireland, whose manufactures had nearly

perished, and were decaying still, derived no such gains as Britain, while she lost the advantage of preference in the British markets for her agricultural produce. It is worth remarking that the conditions of foreign production and of transport and other circumstances for many years retarded the disadvantages to the agricultural interest; and it is only within recent years, as to grain, and a still shorter period, as to meat, that it has experienced the full effects off the change. The economic condition of Ireland was very bad. The great famine inflicted on her a frightful blow, and thus her relative inferiority was increased.

I must not enter into details; but few of the changes in her taxation were directly very adverse to Ireland, save the tobacco taxes, until 1853; when Mr. Gladstone, in furtherance of Pcel's fiscal policy, proposed the extension for a limited term of the

Income Tax to Ireland. He acknowledged the greater poverty of the masses, but contended that this did not exempt the wealthy from their obligation—an argument valid as to the adjustment between the classes of the Irish people of the payment of her total share, but fallacious as a justification of an increase of that total. As a set-off, he wiped out the famine advance debt of four millions, two millions of which had been reported by the Lords' Committee as properly a grant. But the temporary Income Tax was made permanent, and the burden has enormously outweighed the boon.

A little later Mr. Gladstone began the raising of the spirit duties, on the plea that it was no part of an Irishman's rights to get drunk cheaper than an Englishman. I will have to show later on how this works in practice. The spirit dutes were raised at intervals, and were equalised by Mr. Disraeli in 1859.

The result of these operations was to increase the Irish taxation by more than two millions, or over 40 per cent. Thus, while the average revenue of Britain was no more than during the war at the beginning of the century, her population and wealth had greatly increased, and so her taxation was

much lightened. But the average revenue of Ireland had been raised over a third, and it was borne by a diminishing population out of contracting means. This dreadful change took place while Ireland was staggering under the blow of the famine, the after effects of which were accentuated by the added burdens. The British rate of taxation through duties on commodities was—in 1820, £2 8s. 7d.; in 1860, £1 11s. 7d.: the Irish rate was 11s. and £1 os. 7d. The taxation of the wealthier country had been greatly diminished, that of the poorer enormously increased. The Joint Report finds that—

"The increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances."

The separate reports practically agree. It is this general verdict which I ask the House to endorse and to effectuate to-day.

I must touch briefly upon what has happened since. Complete assimilation has not yet been attempted. There are some exemptions still. Much cry has been made about four millions of British taxation not imposed on Ireland. Its imposition would not affect the masses of that community; it is mainly on wealth; and its estimated yield, if imposed on Ireland, would be only £150,000, or in the proportion of one twenty-seventh.

Since 1860 the chief change in Irish burdens has been in the increase of local rates. These stood in 1840 at £1,500,000, or 3s. a head; in 1893, at £3,700,000, or 15s. 8d. a head; thus increasing steadily, notwithstanding certain grants from Imperial taxation in aid of local rates, to a present total of nearly four millions. The spending authorities are mainly grand juries and guardians—the one entirely and the other largely composed of appointed members; and naturally extravagance, mismanagement, and partiality are complained of

The general effect of the British fiscal policy has been to abolish nearly all duties on raw materials General effect and food, substituting direct taxation on income and property, and heavy duties on fiscal policy. three or four articles of wide and general consumption. These are the articles most largely consumed in Ireland; while the articles freed were so freed mainly for the benefit of Britain. Now, I am not for a moment objecting to the adoption of Free Trade, or of any other policy advantageous to the interests of the great bulk of the United Kingdom; but I do emphatically aver that the relative advantages and disadvantages ensuing to each country, affecting as they do the relative taxable power of each, must be considered.

Now, the tax revenue of Ireland in 1820 was 14s. 5d. per head; in 1894, 28s. 10d.; or twice as great. That of Britain was, in the earlier year, £3 10s. 3d.; in the later, £2 4s. 10d., or nearly one-third less. The total taxation in Ireland, including rates, had largely increased in 1850, and was then £1 per head; in 1880, £2; in 1894, £2 8s. 10d.; now, £2 11s. 11d. Her tax revenue last year was £7,074,000, and the rate per head was £1 15s. 1d.—the highest yet.

But, Sir, the taxation on commodities presses with greater relative as well as absolute severity on Ireland. In Britain, the tax revenue on commodities, which alone affects the masses, in 1820 was, per head, about £2 8s.; in 1894 it was about £1 4s., or half the old rate; and this kind is now about 53 per cent. of her total taxation. The Irish taxation on commodities in 1820 was, per head, about 11s.; in 1894 about £1 2s., or double the old rate; and this comprises 76 per cent. of her total taxation; and her rate, per head, is now almost equal to that of Great Britain, though the Irish consumption is considerably less.



From photo by]

COACH BOAD AT DERRYNANE.

[W. Lawrence, Dublin

The total tax revenue of Ireland is now, including rates,

Total Irish Taxation: Burden beyond means. over eleven millions, while her yearly resources are, as I conceive, much under seventy millions; out of which are to be paid, having regard to the case of the masses—(1) taxation; (2) agri-

cultural rents, including the large economic drain in favour of absentee landlords and mortgagees; besides the first charge of all—namely, the subsistence of the masses—say nearly four and a-half millions of people. This makes clearly a condition of extraordinary pressure on the means of subsistence. Taxation must, in bad years, have more than exhausted the surplus, and so the capital has diminished. It is, as I have said, near double the maximum relative capacity. It has now been shown to be beyond the reasonable actual capacity. And the contrast between Ireland and Britain, with her I,400 millions of income, is too obvious to need restatement. That is true which Senior proved in 1864, that, considering capacity, England is the most lightly, while Ireland is the most heavily taxed of countries.

One word on a criticism objecting that this taxation is

Irish Taxation a general grievance. not, as my motion asserts, a grievance to all classes of the Irish community. Sir, setting aside the feelings which should make it such, no one who considers the material interests of

the wealthy and their relations to the poor of Ireland can doubt that they are in the most substantial way damnified by this excessive burden on the poor, and that redress will help not one class only but all classes.

Now, the second great purpose to which the new

Second purpose of New Commission to allege Indirect Taxation no grievance, Commission is directed, though the language is condensed and oblique, is to dispute the possibility of undue burdens through this indirect taxation. The First Lord of the Treasury, dealing with this subject on the eve of the meeting of Parliament, insisted

that if the view of the Commission as to undue burdens being imposed under indirect taxation of this sort was sound as between countries, it must be sound as between individuals, and because it has not been adopted as between individuals, it is, therefore, not good as between countries.

But, in establishing your plan for taxing one common political or geographical area, possessing those elements of likeness in economic condition which render possible or tolerable a common plan, without exceptions, you are yet obliged to acknowledge inevitable inequalities in its operation on individuals, which you minimise so far as you can by your system, and bear the rest as you must.

Here the case wholly differs. You are dealing with two countries, which your political Union did not physically unite or economically assimilate; two countries so different that when the Treaty was made provisions were included for con-

tinued separate consideration; two countries so different that even in other vital matters their laws remain divergent. Again, such a consideration of taxation is, of course, much easier between two countries, the inhabitants being dealt with as one community, than it would be between each unit of millions of individuals.

The system may and does press also on the very poor in Britain. Remedy it for the individual everywhere, where, General remedies, and as far as you can, by changes in the general system of taxation. Any general remedy you may apply will so far help to meet the Irish grievance.

But, in so far as you do not apply an efficient general remedy you cannot expect Ireland, on which as a country in consequence of her different econditions and rights.

But Ireland has separate conditions, and of the much larger numbers and narrower means of her very poor,

the grievance presses with much greater weight, to accept your answer that there is some inequality in Britain too. The right of separate treatment is recognised by the Treaty. This argument therefore is one against the Treaty. But we are holding by the Treaty, and surely Unionists ought not to depart from it. Unhappily the two countries have more and more diverged in matters relevant to taxation; and they exist with differing and increasingly different taxable capacities and economic conditions. As the English Commissioners have found:—

"The system of taxation which now exists in the United Kingdom, while it may not be unsuited to the requirements of a rich nation like Great Britain, presses hardly and inequitably on a relatively poorer country like Ireland. Where there is comparatively but little wealth, as in Ireland, the main burden of taxation mught of necessity be borne by the consumers of dutiable commodities. The amount thus levied appears to be in excess of what is required by the legitimate needs of Ireland and heavier than the masses of the Irish people ought to be called upon to bear."

These things being so, Ireland has her Treaty right to have the circumstances recognised and weighed in settling her burdens. After all, but an approximation can be reached; an approximation between the two countries, leaving some inevitable discrepancies as between the individual inhabitants of those countries. But these defects will not justify a refusal to do what is possible, or an attempt to keep an undue burden on Ireland's shoulders.

The First Lord thinks, and the proposed Commission is in part designed to establish, that the indirect character of the taxation deprives Ireland of any right to complain or to separate consideration. But the main or only Irish taxes ex-

isting at the Union were indirect, and still quota and exemptions were provided. He complains that the Commissioners in determining the over-taxation of two and three-quarter millions proceeded "by the simple method of argument," and he says the very simplicity of the argument should have created suspicion, for great financial questions are not usually or easily settled by such plain methods. And he objects to "logic and arithmetic" as factors in the case. But he himself resorts to still more simple

433

arguments. He says our views do not apply at all to indirect taxation, because, for sooth,

"There is an element of free will in the matter. A man may consume or not consume as he pleases. If he does not consume he does not pay. It is surely folly to treat a case of that kind as you would treat a case in which the tax-collector came and took so much money out of his pocket whether he liked it or not."

Now, this in effect is saying that mere consumption, being practically voluntary, is the best test of capacity, for no wrong is done because there is no compulsion to consume. But, Sir, the compulsion comes in when, wanting to consume, craving to consume, needing to consume, you are obliged to pay the State for the power to consume. If this argument were correct, why any provision for exemptions, abatements, or quota? It would be enough to provide that taxation should not be differential, and then indirect taxation would take care of itself; and, since all Irish taxation was then indirect, there would be nothing to take care of. But who would justify now a levelling up in 1800; and who justifies now the levelling up in the years 1853-1860? Yet this argument is ample justification for both. If it were correct, why were the duties kept relatively lower for nearly forty years after the consolidation of the Exchequers? This is, ind. A, too "simple" an argument; but I admit it does not sin by the addition of "logic."

The views of the English Commissioners are thus stated:-

"It has, however, been argued that the articles are, if not luxuries, at any rate superfluities, and therefore fair tests of the balance remaining after the bare necessities of life have been supplied. We are unable to assent to this argument. We think that the consumption of the masses must be taken as a whole, and that we must accept what they actually consume as what they find it necessary to consume, and what, without a total and almost inconceivable change in their habits, they are unable to forego."

The same view is taus expanded in the report of Mr. Sexton:—

"While equal taxes on property abstract the same proportion only of the income taxed in either country, equal taxes on articles of common consumption operate without any regard to disparity of income. In proportion to the actual consumption of articles of ordinary use, the poorest country, under such a common system, has to pay as much as the richest, at least to the extent to which the taxed articles are consumed in proportion to population. Thus, the poorer country surrenders a larger proportion of gross income, and a still higher proportion of surplus income, even if the rates of consumption of the taxed articles are alike in each. Certain commodities, though taxed, may be tonsumed in a poorer country almost as much as in a rich one, because the rich has a choice of various articles, while the poor is practically limited to two or three staples on which the tax is laid. The consumption of staples naturally tends to equality, the test being the satisfaction of appetite, so far as the power to acquire exists, and appetites not varying with incomes."

Thus, a tax on articles of very general consumption approximates to a poll-tax. In trut's Sir, it is difficult to treat this argument seriously. On what calculation do you lay such heavy taxes on tobacco, spirits, beer, and tea? Why

have you ventured to make these the only contribution of the masses to the public expenditure? How do you dare to count, year after year, on the population paying such sums as-for tea, nineteen and a-half millions; tobacco, twenty-five millions; spirits, fifty-four and three-quarter millions; beer, ninety-five millionstotal, one hundred and ninety-four and a-quarter millions -sixty millions more than the value of all your imported foods!-one hundred and ninety-four and a-quarter millions, out of which you derive a "voluntary revenue" of forty-one and a-half millions, on which you depend to pay the greater part of the yearly charge of this empire? The rich you force to pay; the poor and the masses you do not! They pay only voluntarily, as a matter of free-will! Will this argument satisfy the Englishman when you propose to increase the beer-tax? No; he will say, "I must have my beer," and he will put out the politician who would "rob a poor man of his beer!" No, Sir; no! The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not feel on this head much doubt or anxiety. Well, he knows that practically the settled and rooted habits of the people; their tastes, wants, cravings; their determination to have and use their tobacco, tea, or liquor; their need of these articles, are so strong that they

almost amount to *must*; and that it is, in any practical sense, a mockery to call the tax voluntary. Calmly he builds his whole financial fabric on the certainty that the people must have, and, therefore, must pay. He goes gaily on his way, nor dreads any sudden outbreak of "free-will" which shall seriously cut down his revenue.

It is said, Sir, that it is the whiskey-tax of which we complain. There is a serious grievance of inequality to which I shall have to refer. But, apart from that, our complaint is of the excessive taxes which are on more than whiskey—which are on tea, tobacco, and beer as well. You will see by the evidence as to the poorest districts—for example, Donegal—by the poor little family budgets which have been presented, so affecting in the narrowness and bareness of the lives they depict, that but little whiskey is drunk there; tea and tobacco are the only relief.

Then it is said that the whiskey-tax is a tax on excess—
on the drunkard. The right hon. member
for Bodmin used the same argument, saying
that if too much money comes from Ireland
it is because too much whiskey is drunk there,

and that we must fix our attention on the individual who pays the penalty of the indulgence of his taste; and he added that if he suffered a wrong, the wrong would be doubled if the money were returned to his neighbour. The First Lord takes a similar line of consideration of the individual case.

To this whole line of reasoning I demur. The revenue mainly comes—the efficiency, the productiveness of the tax depends upon its coming—from the masses, who generally take tea, tobacco, and liquor. The vast proportion of the con-

sumption of liquor is that of the great majority who are not drunkards. That is the virtue of the tax as a productive tax. The wideness of the area of pressure is its strength as a fiscal device. The tax is mainly on



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normal, not on excessive consumption. This it is which makes it a general tax-a tax on the masses; and so an object of substantial justice would be achieved, if abatement or exemption were impossible, by remission or restitution to the masses of the community. It were truly a refinement of justice for Britain to refuse any remedy, any relief, for fear that the restoration to the Irish community of excessive taxation on individuals composing the Irish masses shall not exactly apportion the return to the individual taxpayer. Is this the reason why there is to be no redress? It would be a shabby excuse, which I hardly expected to hear urged in this place; but which I suspect is intended from one of the proposed references to the new Commission.

Charge of Irish excess untrue.

But, Sir, the accusation of comparative excess which underlies this argument I dispute, and challenge the accusers. I wish there were less drinking in Ireland and in Britain. But Ireland, compared with Britain, is a sober country. You

who accuse us spend far more on drink than we; and you arrange to get it cheap, at Irish and Scottish expense. You are provident in your cups. There is here a gross inequality under a nominally equal system. It is not necessary to go to hypothetical cases, as of tea-drinking and coffee-drinking countries united for taxation. Let us take the case of the beer and the whiskey-drinking countries. Not merely is the whole sum of Irish taxation relatively excessive, but the spirit and the beer taxes are also, as between themselves, grossly unequal and partial in their operation.

Let us look at the facts. I take Britain as a whole Scotland has a case here against England even Comparative more aggravated than ours; and to strike Drink Bills-Britain and the account with Britain as a whole thus Ireland. lessens unduly the Irish claim as against

England. But the reference is as between Great Britain and Ireland.

In 1893 the expenditure for beer in Britain was

Beer. £88,627,000, or £2 135. a head; in Ireland,
£6,291,000, or £1 75. 2d. a head. Thus the

Briton spends all but twice as much on beer as the Irishman. "Oh," you may say, "we all know that! The

Briton drinks beer, the Irishman whiskey; what about whiskey?"

Well, Sir, what about whiskey? The expenditure for spirits in Britain was £48,571,000, or £1 9s. Whiskey. per head; in Ireland, £6,144,000, or £1 6s. 6d. per head. Thus, much more was spent per head on spirits in Britain than in Ireland. So Britain preserved her superiority in both branches of this competition; having spent twice as much on beer, she took a good deal more spirits, too; and then she says something about Irish drunkards! The Briton spends on both £4 25.; the Irishman, £2 13s. 8d. And then some British statesman tells his enthusiastic constituents that the Irish complaint is due to too much drink; and if they would only purge and live cleanly they would have no ground for grievance, venture to suggest that it is not for Britain to "cast a stone," to preach free-will, temperance, and soberness as our cure, or to defend injustice on her part by alleging excess on ours.

But this is not all, or nearly all. As I have said, you are provident in your cups. See how you have Unjust Taxaarranged the cost of that part which you can tion as between control-the tax. You prefer beer, and the Spirits. tax on beer is alike for all. So is the tax on spirits alike for all. But the tax on sixty gallons of your favourite drink-beer-is equal to the tax on one gallon of whiskey. Having regard to the relative quantity of alcohol, the tax on beer is about one-sixth of the tax on spirits. The tax on beer is about one-sixth of the selling price in bulk; the tax on spirits about three-fourths of the selling price. What is the practical result of these equal taxes? The tax revenue, Imperial and local, was for 1893-in

Britain—Spirits, £13,810,000; beer, £9,214,000—a total of £23,024,000. In Ireland—Spirits, £2,240,000; beer, £624,000—a total of £2,764,000. The Briton's drink bill was £4 2s., out of which 16s. 1d. was tax; the Irishman's, £2 13s. 6d., out of which 13s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. was tax. If the Irishman paid only at the Briton's rate his tax would be 10s. 6d.; his excess is 3s. $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., which for Ireland is no less than seven hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year! I have not run out the figures for Ireland as against England alone, but I fancy the excess would cover eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year.

But this, according to the free-will doctrine of the First Lord, is, I must admit, no grievance. The Irishman may differ in taste and in opinion, and difference of climate may affect his judgment as to the kind of drink most suitable for him. But these are mere details. The Briton likes his beer and likes it cheap; and so the Irishman must have the free will to like it too; and thus he can save the tax! Indeed the unequal pressure of the tax has been operating to

some extent in this direction. I am not now arguing as to the expediency, in the general interest, of changes in these duties, or of differ-Difficulty of ential rates. You may contend that on moral, change no or economic, or fiscal grounds it would be a excuse. misfortune so to lower the duty on spirits, and a political impossibility so to raise the duty on beer as to produce equality, and a bad thing to have differential duties, But those contentions do not settle the question. If they be true, none the less is there a grievance to Ireland; none the less should that grievance be met in some other way as a part of the fiscal arrangement; none the less should the spirit of the compact be observed. You should not promote your morality, or interest, or convenience at our expense. I ask the House, concurring in the finding of the joint Report that "identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden," to agree also to the

view, that I have proved, in the case of these two countries, gross inequalities demanding redress.

Well, Mr. Speaker, complaints of excessive taxation have been made for generations from the Irish benches. In 1864 the House referred it to a Select Committee, "to consider the taxation of Ireland; how far it is in accordance with the Treaty of Union, or just in reference to the resources of the country," and a long inquiry took place.

resources of the country," and a long inquiry took place. The Irish contention was then met by adopting the fallacious idea of the taxation of individuals instead of the taxation of the country, and by ignoring the relevant considerations as to the practical effect of taxes on articles of primary use and general consumption.

But, be it remembered, that there was then no suggestion of divided estimates; those who resisted the Irish claim did not found themselves on that construction. They took advantage of the opposite view—the one by which we hold;

opposite view—the one by which we hold; and for a very good reason. In the sixties, when Ireland in one year paid £7,700,000, of which, even according to the preposterous divisions now suggested, £5,400,000 went to what is now called Imperial expenditure, the modern argument would have made bad worse; and according to it there would, during many years have been, as there is, an enormous balance overpaid by Ireland, aggregating many millions. At that time it suited Britain to adopt the other and truer view, namely, that local circumstances and conditions might involve a greater expenditure by the United Kingdom in one than in the other country; that it was none the less common; due to, growing out of, and material to the Union; expenditure of the United Kingdom.

There were in later years ineffectual motions and remonstrances. But the question became demonstrably urgent on the occasion of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, when the financial proposals involved the re-consideration of the whole

problem, coupled with an attempt, in view of Irish self-government, to divide what had been the United Kingdom expenditure into Imperial and local, based, of course, on the respective legislative spheres of the Imperial and the proposed local Legislatures. This event is the clue to much that has since occurred in this connection.

In 1890, when, after the question of Home Rule had been placed before the country, a Unionist Governaction, 1890; separateentity.

Mr. Goschen's ment was in power, the present First Lord of the Admiralty, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to a request from these benches, said:—

"I think we shall be prepared to grant an inquiry into the financial relations of the two countries. I do not want to exclude Scotland, and I think hon. members from both countries will see that we are anxious to meet them. We shall be glad to throw as much light as possible on the financial relations of the two countries. Hon. members will see at once that it must be a full and proper inquiry. Of course, if the inquiry should show that injustice has been done to any part of the United Kingdom steps will be taken to afford redress."

The right hon, gentleman, after consulting his colleagues later, in making the motion objected to any historical retrospect. The purpose, he said, was—

"To see whether Scotland or Ireland should be relieved of any portion of the taxation they now pay; to see if there should be any alteration of existing burdens. . . . The power of a country to pay taxation must to a large extent depend on numbers. I trust all these matters will be thrashed out in the Committee."

The Committee sat but once, when it called for Treasury returns. Efforts to re-appoint it failed because of objections taken by the Welsh members, who claimed a similar separate consideration for Wales, which the Government declined to grant on the ground that Wales had never been treated as a separate fiscal entity.

The financial returns which have been presented for several years had here their origin. Now, this proceeding and language involved the recognition of the right of Ireland and Scotland as countries to separate consideration; and more, the acknowledgment that the indirect system of

Agricultural

Distress Relief, 1896.

taxation did not automatically produce taxation according to resources; and that the resources of the countries were to be considered, the alleged equal operation of the taxation on the individual inhabitants not answering the demand. The maintenance of such views would have cut away the ground for the committee. It seems to me obvious that the form of the reference and returns was in part moulded by the recent attempts to make a division in connection with the Home Rule scheme.

Again there have been recognitions in recent years of the separate condition of Ireland and Scotland in connection with the Imperial grants in aid of local rates. I refer to, without implying approval of, the system. But how

has it been worked? These grants were based not on the plan of applying the total aid all over the United Kingdom, as one taxable entity, but on the theory (though not without exception later as against Ireland) that each of the three divisions was a taxable unit to which was being returned, for expenditure by the minor local authorities, a portion of the general taxation; and, therefore, that the return should be on the basis of the proportions in which each of the units had contributed to the fund.

Last Session when agricultural distress throughout the

United Kingdom was to be aided this device was, as many of us think, most unwarrantably expanded, so as to limit the relief of Ireland—the country in which there existed the greatest

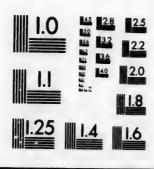
agricultural distress—by making the grant, in form, a relief to local rates in England, and thus applying, as we think erroneously, the proportional system. And so, those who oppose our view that we are entitled to separate treatment as to taxation, themselves insist, in some degree, on separate treatment in expenditure.

Now, Sir, it is acknowledged by Sir Edward Hamilton that the Union Act does not contemplate this division. But he says, and others say, that circumstances have



ST. PATRICE'S CATHEDRAL DUBLIN.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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STATE OF THE PART OF THE PART



altered since, that some expenditures are now made which were not then made, as, for example, on No right to Police and Education. True, enlarged conalter treaty. ceptions have been formed of the duty of the Government of the United Kingdom; and it has been deemed to be a national object to provide for the education and for the order of the people; and, for its government under the Union, a constabulary has been organised in Ireland. Accordingly Acts have been passed and revenue is raised and expended by the United Kingdom for this purpose. But this does not in the least alter the rights of Ireland, or render obsolete the provisions of the treaty. This is your own interpretation of the duty of the United Kingdom.

But it is said that a part of the expenditure on education and on police is, under Imperial legislation, provided for in Britain by local rates, raised by local bodies, who have been given a measure of control over the subjects, and that is unfair to ignore this local expenditure in stating the

it is unfair to ignore this local expenditure in stating the account between the countries. I repeat that it is impossible for this reason to divest the expenditure of the Imperial character which it clearly retains, so far as Ireland is concerned. You make it and you keep it Imperial; and its scale, its purpose, its regulation, are all such as you choose to fix, not such as you are willing to confide to local representative authorities. We must therefore hold by the view that the money which this Parliament votes, expends, and controls, for the purpose of carrying on government in Ireland is in reason, and in the sense of the Union Act, Imperial expenditure.

This view is our only protection against the injustice which would ensue from your being at liberty to fix the scale and direct the mode, while we are obliged to pay. And the objection of inequality would be fully met, if for the purpose

of ascertaining the grand total to which Ireland should contribute, the analogous amount raised locally in Britain

towards these two objects were added to the sum of the Imperial estimate. Thus Ireland would bear her proportionate share of the whole expenditure; and this would meet in a less objectionable way the position of Mr. Childer's as to Police and Education, and in very large measure the criticisms of Lord Farrer and his colleagues. This, I need hardly say, is a very narrow question. The data are accessible; the figures can be easily run out. There are some minor cross-entries to be made. The general result would be perhaps so to enlarge the total Imperial estimate as to reduce the over-taxation by about £300,000, or to about two and a half millions on the minimum estimate. I need hardly say that the adoption of this plan, with its limited and defined application, affords not the least justification for the proposed breaking up of the Imperial expenditure, which it rather keeps intact; still less does it need a new Royal Commission.

But it is said our contention would make Britain
Britain not tributary to Ireland. Not so; every detail of the whole affair is within your power, and is moulded according to your will.

Then, if for argument's sake, the principle of breaking up the Imperial expenditure be admitted, we quarrel grievously with the details. On these also all the data for judgment are before us, and the questions are peculiarly for settlement by Parliament on the initiative of the

Government. As Lord Farrer said in another place, they need no new Commission. The speech of the First Lord adopted the classification of the Treasury, and based on it the assertion that Ireland contributed but 1-32nd to what he called Imperial expenditure. Now, let me glance at the details of this division.

Ireland is charged with the Constabulary—an armed, semi-military force, maintained at enormous cost, far beyond any conceivable need for the policing, under normal conditions, of such a country; a force and a scale of expenditure directly flowing from and

due to the Union, and doing almost entirely Imperial work. I do not find that any one of the Commissioners, or even Sir Edward Hamilton himself, approves this charge in its totality, and he states that in the earliest of the Financial Relations Papers it was distributed as Imperial. So it ought to be.

Ireland is charged with the Imperial expenditure on the great national subject of education, which is moulded and directed through Imperial legislation, by Imperial and centralised administration.

Ireland is charged with the collection of the Imperial revenue, the adminstration of justice, the Post Office, the Civil Service generally, the Viceregal establishment. All these are obviously Imperial. Then we quarrel with the scale of expenditure, created here and proposed to be charged exclusively to us. It is expensive, extravagant, centralized, on the Imperial scale. Look at the salaries and numbers of the judges, and contrast the conditions as between the emoluments of Bar and Bench, even

with these which prevail here, still more with those which prevail in poorer countries. Contrast the cost of departments compared with the cost even here. The whole system is unsuited to the circumstances and beyond the means of Ireland. It is not checked by the ordinary safeguards of local responsibility and the ordinary inducements to economy. All these are defects in the system. From it they flow. With what justice then do you propose to charge them exclusively on the weaker partner?

But you say, "Irishmen and Irish members will not cut

But you say, "Irishmen and Irish members will not cut down the votes." After all, it is you who frame the estimates and pass the votes. But give to Ireland the usual stimulus to economy—some profit from the saving, before you complain that she does not insist on pruning your extravagance. While she finds that she is taxed beyond her capacity; that she will not appreciably gain by economy in Ireland; and that the only

question is where the money shall be spent, is it much wonder that she should prefer Ireland as the scene? At any rate the responsibility is yours; Ireland cannot save or spend a shilling; you have the power and must take the blame.

But, Sir, it is not only to the Irish part of this divided estimate that we object. We object to the Imperial mperial contribution.

But, Sir, it is not only to the Irish part of this divided estimate that we object. We object to the Imperial part as well. If you cut up the estimates as you propose, and find some elements to which, as Imperial, you hold us specially beyond to make propositionate contribution, you delive us to

bound to make proportionate contribution, you drive us to analyse their nature, and to inquire whether there is any reasonable ground for our providing, first, everything you choose to call local expenditure, and then also our proportion, according to our relative taxable capacity, of these great heads of Imperial expenditure.

I do not, in the present form of Union, want to open any
of these questions. I believe they cannot be
opened without violating the spirit of the Act.

opened without violating the spirit of the Act contemplates and provides that Ireland should contribute towards the expenditure of the Imperial Parliament, no matter where that money be spent or how it be applied, whether here, or in Ireland, or abroad, according to her relative taxable capacity.

But if you will destroy this system, cut up the accounts, and enter into the question of the separate or relative interests of Britain and of Ireland in the different expenditures, depend upon it you will have to grapple with your Imperial as well as with your local estimates. We rest on the contract; you propose a change. Then must we look at the new

Imperial estimates.

Look at your navy. Britain has created an economic system under which she requires, in order that she may obtain her supplies of food and of materials, and maintain her position as a manufacturing, mercantile, and carrying power, to keep



command of the sea. Her naval budget is her insurance premium. She is continually pressed to add to her insurance, and told that it is cheap. It may be cheap for her; she has the gains. But can you honestly say that Ireland has the same proportionate interest in the profits insured by this premium? And, if not, can you say she ought to contribute in that proportion to the insurance?

Look at your army, mainly required for the purposes of the Indian and Colonial Empire, and for the security of your commercial interests, and to which therefore the same considerations apply.

Look at your debt charge, contracted for wars

waged in the same interests.

Do not charge me with taking a limited or a shopkeeper's view of this matter. Remember the language of the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, uttered as late as the 11th March, when he

said-

"All machinery—at all events of the external part of our Government—is in its intention and its object directed for the purpose of maintaining and facilitating British trade. We have heard and we rejoice at the great achievements of our army and our navy—how they have never failed us under any stress to which they have been put. But the object of all this action is that the various parts of the world may be kept open to the exploration, to the enterprise, to the industry of Britain, may be saved from that encircling band of hostile tariffs which causes us to know, when we hear that a territory has fallen into foreign occupation, that it is really robbed from British trade."

Sir, I think these considerations show that the proposed inquiry would, if it ever ended, never satisfy, and that the only safe ground is to stand on the Union Act provisions. Let me repeat, I do not wish to open these matters. It is you, who set up this suggested division of expenditure, who raise the issue. But while I thus contend, I fully agree that, if this whole question were taken up by Britain in the proper spirit, it would become our duty and our interest to promote all reasonable reductions in the extravagance of Irish expenditure.

There remains only one set off on which I wish to say a single word. I refer to the remitted or unsettled Loans and advances or grants to Ireland. With part I advances. have already dealt-namely, the famine advances. Of the remainder, some are being settled by the Restitution Fund. Of the bulk it is to be remarked that they were not at all advances to local authorities, or analogous to the British grants, but expenditures made by the Imperial Government, largely wasteful and futile, and charged compulsorily on the people. The sum total seems in fairness reducible to about one million in excess of remissions of English advances; but if it all stood, it would form only a fraction of the restitution fairly due to Ireland in respect of past over-taxation, an element of the grievance which demands redress. On this, too, all the materials are before us, and the question is ripe for your decision.

Now, Sir, an amendment has been put down insisting on the absolute fiscal indivisibility of the United Kingdom, and on the consideration only of the pressure of taxation on the individual, wherever he may reside. This was partly the view of the Committee of 1864. But it is not, as I think I have shown, the true view.

Another amendment appears, designed at once seriously to limit the range and to indicate one direction of remedial legislation. But I venture to submit to my right hon. friend that it is both a wiser course and a truer interpretation of Irish opinion to adhere to the comprehensive words of my proposal.

The line of the Government is different. It does not in terms adopt, though it may aim at the result of, the first amendment. It does not acknowledge the existence of a grievance, or admit the propriety of the remedy suggested by the second amendment. The Government proposes to meet

the case by the appointment of a new Commission, mainly to inquire into the results of the proposed division into four parts of the United Kingdom expenditure, into the effect of the existing United Kingdom taxation, and into the propriety of changes in taxation and expenditure. In a word, it is proposed to deal with our demand upon the lines of the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester. I have already given you the reasons why I think it impossible to assent to any such inquiry.

It is said that the Commissioners failed to discharge their duty by not reporting upon this question of division. But the bulk of the Commissioners view.

But the bulk of the Commissioners held that that portion of the reference had regard to the political conditions then existing as to Home Rule, and had no foundation under the Act of Union. That is the argument we advance.

This, however, is to be added, that all the materials for a conclusion upon these questions have been collected, and are to be found in the proceedings of the Commission; and that there is no necessity or utility in remitting such questions at this day to the decision of any such body. They are now, after all, peculiarly a matter for Parliament. Upon the ground then, first, that the proposed inquiry is based upon wrong principles; secondly, that it is useless; and thirdly, that it is dilatory, we object to and protest against the Commission.

This being the answer to our demand, I am relieved from considering in detail the suggestion which has been thrown out in Ministerial quarters, that the Commission should have indicated, and that we, forsooth, should now indicate the precise form of the remedy. That question was not referred to the Commission. It is obviously one for Parliament, on the initiative of the Executive, to deal with. It is not for us, a small minority, powerless to achieve, to propound the specific remedy to-day.

You well know what the majority of the Irish people think would embrace a complete and effective remedy. That solution you refuse to adopt.

But your refusal entails on you even added responsibilities towards Ireland; and, both as the depositories of power and as the special defenders of the existing form of Union, which is the basis of this Government, you are doubly bound to find a remedy for this grievous injustice,

Several plans have been suggested, of which some are to be found in the various reports. All may have their inconveniences. It is for you to propound that which you think best, and for us to make counter-proposals. But, the principle of our

claim once admitted, we shall make no difficulty in discussing with you the best remedy.

If you say "The inconveniences are too serious; we find no practicable way within the Union; therefore the grievance must remain unredressed," then assuredly, the friends of the Union will inflict a heavy blow on the system by which they stand. You have declared for that Union as a compact under which Ireland was secure in all her rights, and protected in all her interests; under which she was assured of just and generous treatment. If you now aver that the Union demands that she shall still labour under this injustice, you cannot but discourage its friends, and place in the hands of its opponents a keen and powerful weapon of attack.

Sir, we call for action, and to that end I move—"That in the opinion of this house the report and proceedings of the Royal Commission on the Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland establish the existence of an undue burden of taxation on Ireland, which constitutes a great grievance to all classes of the Irish community, and makes it the duty of the Government to propose at an early day

remedial legislation."



CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL DUBLIN.

Tables.

COMPILED BY MR. ALFRED WEBB.

I.

POPULATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM 1780 TO 1896. [The figures for Great Britain are taken principally from Census Reports; those for Ireland from Dr. Grimshaw's Tables, Buidence, 11. 437-3. Those for 1896 are from Begistrar-Generals' statimates.]

Year.	Great Britain,	Ireland.	
1780	9,510,000	3,526,000	
1791	10,055,000	4,206,000	
1801	10,942,000	4,937,000	
1811	12,596,000	5,795,000	
1821	14,329,000	6,802,000	
1831	16,260,000	7,767,000	
1841	18,534,000	8,199,000	
1851	20,815,000	6,514,000	
1861	23,128,000	5,788,000	
1871	26,072,000	5,398,000	
1881	29,709,000	5,145,000	
1891	33,027,000	4,681,000	
1896	34,917,000	4,560,000	

II.

EXPENDITURE PER HEAD OF POPULATION ON SPIRITS AND BEER IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IN IRELAND IN 1893.

[Parl. Paper 334 of 1893, Evidence, L. 360.)

		_	Great	Bri	tain.	Irela	nd.
Spirits		***	 Li	9	0	Li	6 6
Beer	***	***	 2	13	0	1	7 2
		Totals	 £4	2	0	€2 1	3 8

III.

TAX REVENUE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND OF IRELAND FROM 1782-3 TO 1893-4, ACCORDING TO THE TREASURY TABLES OF NET REVENUE, FROM 1752-3 TO 1800-1, INCLUSIVE; OF TOTAL REVENUE FROM 1801-2 TO 1816-7, INCLUSIVE; AND OF ESTIMATED TRUE REVENUE FROM 1819-20 TO 1893-4.

[See Tables put in Evidence by Sir E. W. Hamilton, Assistant-Secretary to the Treasury, I. 368-9, 371-2, and H. 191.]

[Also, note: -Up to 1801 for Great Britain, and to 1821 for Ireland, the population is estimated. From 1801 (inclusive) for Great Britain, and 1821 (inclusive) for Ireland, the Gensus figures are taken.]

		Great :		Ireland.						
		Tax Revenue.		er ad.		Tax Revenue.			er ad.	
	1782-83	11,880,000	7	s. 5	0	814,000		£	8.	d. o
	1792-93	16,519,000	il li	12	0	1,016,000	ag J	0	4	0
	1801-03	33,596,000	3	4	0	2,521,000	Eatin	0	10	0
	1809-10	61,275,000	5	2	0	4,687,000	1	0	16	o
	1819-20	49,511,000	3	10	3	4,911,000		0	14	5
	1829-30	47,416,000	3	18	0	5,067,000		0	13	1
The amounts per	1839-40	43,918,000	2	7	5	5,076,000		0	12	5
head, as well as the totals of Revenue.	1849-50	49,651,000	2	7	8	4,563,000		0	13	11
for 1819-20, and thenceforward, to 1801-04, are ex-	1859-60	57,866,000	2	10	0	7,340,000		ı	5	4
tracted from Sir E. W. Hamilton's	1869-70	59,678,000	2	5	9	6,868,000		1	5	5
Table, II, p. 191,	1879-80	60,060,000	2	0	5	6,437,000		1	4	11
	1889-90	71,588,000	2	3	4	6,820,000		1	9	0
	1893-94	75,796,000	2	4	10	6,643,000		۰,	8	10

* Increased in 1895-6 to £1 158. 1d.

Statistics such as are here given form the basis of Iveland's contention regarding over-taxation. Since 1809-10, the taxation of Great Britain has been reduced from £5 2s. to £2 4s. 10d. per head; that of Ireland has been increased from 16s. to £1 15s. 1d. per head. The proportions of taxation have not been adhered to, against which even the Irish Lords recorded their protest, and by which a bare majority of the Irish Commons were induced to agree to the Union.

IV.

PRINCIPAL PAYMENTS FROM IRELAND TO ENGLAND CONSTITUTING A DRAIN ON THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF IRELAND, i.e., PAYMENTS AND EXPENDITURE OUT OF THE ANNUAL GROSS INCOME OF IRELAND FOR WHICH THERE IS LITTLE OR NO CORRESPONDING RETURN.

[Mr. Murrough O'Brien's Table, Evidence II. 196.]

_	Amount known approxi- mately.	Probable Amount.
Value of property owned by absentees, con- fined to rural property as per Return 167	£ 2,470,816) £
of April 23, 1872.* 2. Similar proportion of Urban properties	960 900	5,000,000
3. Re lue of London Co.'s estates	34,500	,
4. Mortgages of English Insurance Co.'s as estimated by Dr. Giffen in 1886, £14,000,000 at 4½ per cent.†	630,000	1,500,c00 (all absentee mortgages and annuities)
5. Average amount paid by Church Fund as interest for 23 years to 31st March, 1894	219,631	219,631
Average annual amount of capital repaid by Church Fund for 19 years.	379,769	379,769
 Interest on Board of Works and Public Works Loan Commissioners Loans average taken as payment in 1893. (Smith-Barry's Return 376, 17th August, 1893.) 	265,137	265,137
8. Repayment of capital by same return	430,686	430,686
g. Quit-rents and Crown Reversions	40,000	40,000
10. Land Loan Annuities 4 per cent on	480,000	480,000
 Remittances of capital for deposit in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks. Average annual increase of deposits for past 21 half years. 	254,760	254.760
 Interest at 1 per cent. on Post Office and Trustee Bank deposits on which 2½ per cent. is paid to depositors, while they are lent back to Ireland at not less than 3½ per cent. 	65,000	65,000
 Extra cost of Irish Private Bill legislation, estimated (see debate in 1871) to cost for witnesses five times as much as if con- ducted in Ireland. 	Not ascer- tained.	-
14. Expenses of 100 M.P.'s at £300 each per session.	30,000	30,000
	£6,256,699	£8,664,983

[&]quot;This return was well known to be an under estimate; superior rents, rentcharges, and annutities were not included in it. Absenteeism has increased since 187s.

† The mortgage debt on Irish real estate has been estimated at from 80 to 180 millions by authorities. Irish mortgages were for many years a favourite investment for English leaders owing to the higher rate of interest obtainable.

† The benefit of most of this expenditure is represented in the assessment returns and rental.

v.

Taxable Capacity of Ireland, as compared to that of $$\operatorname{Great}$$ Britain.

[Calculated: Nos. 1 to 8, 25 and 16, from Sir Robert Giffen's Tables, Evidence, 11, 173. No 9 from Mr. Murrough O'Brien's Table, Evidence, 1, 387. Nos. 10 to 13 from Sir E. W. Hamilton's Table, Evidence, 1, 350-7, No. 14. See Table VI.]

		In Ireland compared with that in Great Britain is as
1.	Consumption of Coal	1 to 41
2.	Nett Income Tax Assessments of Quarries, Mines and Gasworks	r ", 58
3.	Tonnage of Shipping in Foreign Trade	1 ,, 58
4.	Persons engaged in Textile Factories	1 ,, 62
5.	Capital of Joint Stock Companies	I ,, 43
6.	Passengers (exclusive of Season Ticket Holders) carried on Railways	r ,, 36
7.	Goods conveyed on Railways	τ ,, 7τ
8.	Value of Mineral Produce	1 ,, 416
9.	Capital of Industrial and Provident Societies	ı " 832
10,	Income from Government Stocks (average of years 1891, 1892, 1893)	1 ,, 53
II.	Profits derived from Trades and Professions (same period)	1 ,, 32
12.	Total Profits assessed to Income-Tax (same period)	1 ,, 21
13.	Property assessed to Probate and Succession Duty (same period)	f ,, 20
14.	Surplus Income after deducting cost of Subsistence and Taxation	1 ,, 27
		Ireland. Great Britain
16.	Males above 20 in Agricultural Class in 1891 Nett Agricultural Production Average per person	Car Carr

It is upon figures such as these that Ireland's low taxable capacity, as compared to Great Britain, is established. The two last lines prove that even in her one great industry, agriculture, her people are at a disadvantage.



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VI.

APPROXIMATE CAPITAL OF GREAT BRITAIN AND OF IRELAND IN 1895, WITH APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE OF SURPLUS INCOME OF INHABITANTS IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

[Evidence passim, and Mr. Murrough O'Brien's Table, Evidence, I. 388.]

	Great Britain.	Ireland.
Capital in 1812	1,500,000,000 10,000,000,000	£ 563,000,000 400,000,000
Gross Annual Income, 1895 Maintenance Allowance, £12 per head of population	1,500,000,000 420,000,000	70,000,000 55,000,000
Revenue, 1892-93 88,000,000 7,000,000 Local Taxes 39,000,000 3,000,000	1,080,000,000	15,000,000
Surplus above bare Maintenance	953,000,000* about £27 per head	5,000,000 about £1 per head

^{*} More according to some Evidence,

VII.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH IN IRELAND, AS COMPARED TO IN GREAT BRITAIN, TAXES ARE RAISED OFF COMMODITIES IN GENERAL USE BY THE PEOPLE.

[From Sir Edward W. Hamilton's Tables, Evidence II. 192.]

	Great :	Britain.	Ireland.		
Years.	Indirect Taxes on Commodities, etc. Per cent.	Direct and other Taxes.	Indirect Taxes on Commodities, etc. Per cent.	Direct and other Taxes.	
.00	600		m !		
1819-1820 1829-1830	69.1	30.9	73.4	23.6	
1839-1840	72.6	27:4	87.9 89.2	10.8	
	72.4	27.6			
1849-1850	63.4	36.6	87.3	12.7	
1859-1860	63.2	36.8	81.3	18.7	
1869-1870	56.0	44.0	80.7	19.3	
1879-1880	58.2	41.8	80.6	19'4	
1889-1890	53.2	46.5	80.0	20'0	
1893-1894	53.7	46.3	76.4	23.6	

VIII.

PROPORTIONS OF MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, AND DEATHS IN THE THREE KINGDOMS.

Per 1,000 (Regi	of Popu strar-Ge	lation, av neral, <i>Evi</i>	erage-18; dence I. 39	71-92. io.]	England.	Scotland.	Ireland
Persons w Births Deaths	ho Mari	ried 	***	•••	15°6 34°0 20°3	13.9 33.6 20.4	9°0 24°9 18°0
(Sir Robe	rt Giffen'	s Table, E	r Deaths		11.2	11'4	5.0
(Sir Robe Per 1,000	rt Giffen' of Popu	s Table, E lation	vidence II	. 162.]	11.2	11'4	\$.0

Upon the figures, such as these, Sir Robert Giffer remarks (Evidence, II. 162-3):—"What is found by experience to be a most significant sign of general economic conditions is the . . . excess of births over deaths. A high excess, when combined, as it usually is, with a low death rate, and with a moderate if not a low birth rate, is a good sign of prosperity. . . . Ireland has more people in proportion above 50 than Great Britain has, and fewer people in prime of life, i.e., between 20 and 40. The difference is sensible. In Ireland no less than 186 per cent. of the male population are upwards of 50, but in Scotland and England the per-centages are 135 and 137 respectively. The per-centage in Ireland between 20 and 40 is 26'6 per cent., and in Scotland and England 28'9 and 29'9 respectively. The per-centages of the female population are much the same. Ireland has thus fewer people in proportion in the prime of life and more above 50 than Great Britain has. . . . These figures also agree with the facts as to the composition of emigration from Ireland and Great Britain respectively. In Ireland there is a steadier stream of people in the prime of life."

IX

EMIGRATION FROM ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND, 1880 TO 1894-[Calculated from Sir Robert Giffen's Table, Evidence II, 175.]

			England.	Scotland.	Ireland.		
Male Emigrants Female Children	401	***	1,155,000 634,000 376,000	189,000 112,000 78,000	460,000 430,000 123,000		
Proportion of Mal	es to Females		100 to 55	100 to 59	100 to 93		
Proportion of Chi	ldren in Total		17 per cent.	20 per cent.	12 per cent.		

This striking Table suggests the extent to which Irish emigration is drawn from the presumably young, unmarried portion of the population in the prime of life, and the degree in which thereby the country is depleted of the life-giving portion of its population.

x.

REVENUE FROM TEA, COCOA, CHICORY AND COFFEE, AND TOBACCO CONTRIBUTED BY GREAT BRITAIN AND BY IRELAND, 1893-4.

[As computed by Treasury (Paper C 313, of 1894) Evidence, I. 408.]

_		Great Britain.	Ireland.	Irish as to British Contribution.
Tea Cocoa Coffee and Chicory Tobacco	•••	£ 3,004,000 90,000 210,000 8,945,000	489,000 12,000 12,000 1,174,000	i to 6\\\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \
		12,249,000	1,687,000	I ,, 74

Compare these figures with the taxable capacity, "not estimated by any of" the eleven Commissioners "as exceeding one-twentieth."

XI.

Average Annual Value of Crops and Stock in Ireland, four Periods between 1851-55 and 1889-93.

(Dr. Grimshaw's Tables, Evidence, I. 451-3.)

	Crops.	Stock.	Total.	
1851-55 1866-70 1884-88 1889-93	\$8,537,000 45,365,000 35,752,000 34,643,000	£ 39,348,000 59,630,000 55,827,000 54,312,000	97,885,000 104,995,000 91,579,000 88,955,000	

AVERAGE ANNUAL VALUE DISPOSED OF, EXCLUSIVE OF THE PORTION OF CROPS USED BY STOCK.

	Crops.		Total.	
1851-55 1866-70 1884-88 1889-93	43,663,000 27,935,000 16,466,000 Not given.	£ 28,325,000 44,279,000 37,548,000	71,988,000 72,214,000 54,014,000	

XII.

TABLE SHOWING THE INCREASE OF PAUPERISM IN IRELAND WITHIN PAST THIRTY YEARS,

[Mr. H. A. Robinson's Table, Evidence, II. 198.]

YEAR,	Average daily			
	In Workhouses and Institutions for the Blind, etc.	In receipt of Outdoor Relief (ap- proximately).	Total daily average number.	Percentage of Total daily average on population.
1862-3	58,301	6,253	64,564	1'12
1867-8	54,195	14,940	69,135	1.26
1872-3	47.325	27,509	74,834	1'40
1877-8	47,749	33,547 58,835	81,296	1.23
1882-3	51,097	58,835	109,932	2'19
1887-8	45,105	65,506	111,611	2.31
1892-3	41,549	59,137	100,686	2'17

XIII.

PROPORTION OF BLIND, DEAF AND DUMB, AND INSANE PERSONS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IN IRELAND, IN 1891.

[English Census, 1871, Evidence, II. 209-210.]

				Number per Million.		
				England and Wales.	Scotland.	Ireland
Blind	***	•••		809	695	1,135
Deaf and Dumb		***	***	489	528	7'5
Insane	•••	***	•••	3,358	3,841	4,504

Here is shown the inevitable outcome of drain upon resources and the emigration of the young and vigorous.



PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE OVER-TAXATION OF IRELAND.

In addition to numerous articles in Magazines and separate publications, such as the reports of speeches by Sir EDWARD CLARKE and others, the following, to be procured through any bookseller, are some of them the principal, and others of them amongst the principal, sources of information concerning the Over-taxation of Ireland:—

- FINAL REPORT BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. 228 pp., folio. Price One Shilling and Ten Pence. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London. This contains Mr. Sexton's Report and the other Reports enumerated in Introduction.
- ENGLAND'S WEALTH, IRELAND'S POVERTY, by THOMAS LOUGH, M.P., with Ten Coloured Diagrams, 223, xv. pp. *Price One Shilling*. Downey & Co., York Street, Covent Garden, London.
- ENGLAND'S DEBT TO IRELAND, by the late JAMES P. MAUNSELL, reprinted from the *Daily Express*, with Diagrams, 26 pp. *Price One Penny*. Office of the *Daily Express*, Dublin.
- THE OVER-TAXATION OF IRBLAND, a Record of City and County Meetings, the Declarations of Public Bodies, Chambers of Commerce, Political Conventions and British Statesmen, on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, 292, xxii. pp. Price One Shilling: Freeman's Journal Company, Dublin.
- THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS QUESTION, EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT, A Paper read before the Statistical Society of Ireland, by ARTHUR W. SAMUELS, Q.C. 32 pp. *Price Sixpence*. Sealy, Bryers & Walker, Dublin.
- Some Features of the Over-taxation of Ireland, A Paper read before the Statistical Society of Ireland, by Nicholas J. Synnott, 20 pp. *Price Threepence*. Sealv. Bryers & Walker, Dublin.

SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER, PRINTERS, DUBLIN.

